Dialect and oral tradition.

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Dialect and Oral Tradition

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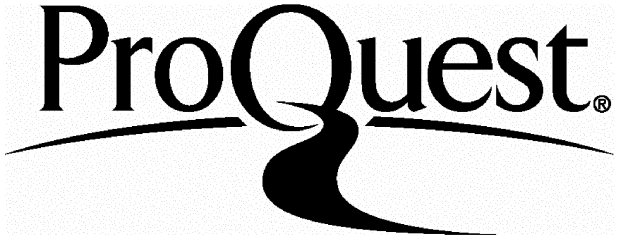

Staff Candidature for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Work submitted by J. B. Smith

I declare that I am the author of the attached papers, all of which are based on work carried out by myself, and none of which has been submitted for any other Higher Degree.

J. B. Smith

27. 9. 1983

Introduction

The papers in this submission have been divided into three sections:

A. Studies of English and German Dialects and Oral Tradition and their Representation in Literature.

B. Studies of English and German with Particular Reference to Problems of Translation.

C. Translations from German into English.

At first glance these headings, and for that matter in some instances the titles grouped beneath them, might appear to have little to do with each other, and what follows is an attempt to explain the juxtaposition of apparently disparate, but in fact related items.

By far the longest section is the first, and the first part of its heading is crucial, since all the pieces of work listed under it have emerged in one way or another from an interest in dialect and linguistic variation. For many linguists such an interest, let alone its variegated products, may seem to be rather wayward. After all, as K. M. Petyt has said, up to about 1960 modern linguistics neglected the problem of variation. Although aware that heterogeneity did exist, linguists treated it "as if it were merely an uncomfortable but theoretically unimportant fact, which could be left to stylisticians, dialectologists and other such 'scavengers', whose job was to tidy up the trivial matters on the periphery of linguistics proper".[1]

In the same way it might be claimed that the majority of students and teachers of modern languages, those who would not refer to themselves as linguisticians in any sense of the word, have tended, for rather different reasons perhaps, to regard the languages they learn or teach as unvarying and invariable phenomena. No doubt the fact that History of the Language has disappeared from many syllabuses has contributed to this tendency. The recent vogue for practical language studies has also played a part. Here the emphasis is on instant and painless communication, and the most successful students are encouraged to pursue careers in international organizations where standardization of language and of other aspects of life is the ideal. It is clear that, until he reaches a quite advanced level of proficiency, even the most highly motivated student of a foreign language will under these circumstances fight shy of any kind of linguistic variation that seems to complicate the learning process. Similarly the pedagogue will tend, gratefully perhaps, to avoid non-standard and substandard features of the language he teaches, except by way of monitory example, and to concentrate on the "best" English, the "best" German. However, to anyone who thinks seriously on the subject it will be clear that the word "best" not only begs the question of how one can possibly judge what is good, but also grudgingly allows that the varieties of a language one is likely to come across in real life are legion.

My own preoccupation with dialect is partly a reaction

against the kind of prescriptivism which assumes that only one form of a language is "correct" or "good",[2] and stems partly from an intuitive awareness of what linguists have recently begun to realize, namely that heterogeneity within a language is so pervasive that it must be accepted as the norm, and that variation should be seen as central rather than peripheral to linguistics.[3]

However, far from presuming to set up a model to account for the "structured heterogeneity" of English or German, I have merely attempted to describe or comment on some aspects of one or other of the varieties I have come across. If a description is to deserve that name, the rigorous application of phonetic method and phonological principles will generally lay the foundation for any subsequent lexical, syntactic or morphological studies, especially where no adequate conventional system of spelling has emerged, and the attempts at phonemic analysis in A2 and A9 were undertaken with this in mind.

Even so, a student of dialect will often conceive an inordinate desire to communicate not only with his colleagues, but also with the speakers of dialect without whom his work would be impossible. In this country numerous excellent periodicals exist in which academics, interested laymen, and speakers of dialect can benefit from each other's experience.[4] The scholar is encouraged to keep his feet on the ground, the layman to look beyond the parish pump. In attempting to present aspects of dialect studies in such periodicals, I became aware that phonetic transcriptions, although their aim is the utmost clarity, can be obscure or at least

difficult to cope with for editors, printers and readers. In a number of studies which are not primarily linguistic (e.g. A1, A3, A4), I have resorted to ordinary letters of the alphabet in giving impressionistic renderings of dialectal pronunciation, or concentrated on lexis (A10), where, as English dialectologists from Wright to Orton have demonstrated, it is to some extent possible to work with conventional, or conventionalized, spellings.

My study of dialect as it was spoken by my informants led from phonemic analysis not only to a consideration of lexical items and other forms which had escaped my predecessors in the field (A6), but also to an interest in the cultural content which is in reality inseparable from linguistic form.[5] At first my attempts to capture the former resulted in what might in some ways be of greater interest to the oral or local historian than to the folklorist (A1), but generally I have concentrated on the einfache Formen of oral tradition: legend, jocular tale, riddle, proverb, put-off, and so on (e.g. in A7, A8, A13, A14, A17). Here the well-known classificatory systems of Aarne, Thompson, Archer Taylor, Ó Súilleabháin and others were of enormous help, while the insights of present-day German scholars such as Röhrich, Bausinger, Petzoldt and Rölleke encouraged me to sift through some of the little-known English sources which appear to have escaped the attention of such prodigious collectors as Briggs and Baughman (A18).

If the linking of language and folklore studies needs a defence, then it might be as well to remember that in

Germany at least Germanistik and Volkskunde share the same ancestry and are still closely connected in many German universities, while in Britain the English Dialect Society and the Folklore Society were founded about the same time, in 1873 and 1878 respectively, and had many interests in common. On the negative side, perhaps one of the criticisms that might be levelled at recent dialect studies is that in their zeal for describing and explaining linguistic phenomena they neglect the cultural aspect, what dialect speakers actually convey about their way of life and their attitudes to it. Clearly, recent advances in dialectology have helped the subject move away from being a kind of "linguistic archaeology".[6] This does not mean, however, that there is no longer an urgent need for dialectology to embrace the study of tradition. Some of the findings of, say, the Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde show how inextricably the two are linked, and give some idea of the type of research that might be done in this country.[7] Ideally, such research should give due regard to "folk life" in all its aspects.[8]

As for folklore studies in Britain, they have all too often given themselves to airy speculation instead of looking in a disciplined way at the language which is after all the vehicle of oral tradition. In fact linguistic variation and variation in oral tradition have much in common, and can perhaps be described in similar ways (A5). As early as 1890 Charlotte Burne was suggesting that the Folklore Society should undertake a geographical survey of local beliefs and customs, along the lines laid down by the

English Dialect Society in its search for folk language.[9] But it was not until the years after the Second World War that systematic attempts were made to link folklore and dialect studies, and then the initiative came from within the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield rather than from the Folklore Society. It is, incidentally, perhaps pertinent to mention here what an invaluable tool the folklorist, as well as the dialectologist, has in Wright's English Dialect Dictionary.[10] Not only does it contain countless quotations from a host of obscure sources, but it provides in one set of volumes the means of deciphering practically any English dialect text the folklorist is likely to find relevant to his studies.[11]

Again, it may be that the study of literature can profit from the insights of dialectology and folklore and the interaction between the two. Hardy's use of dialect can tell us a good deal about how he saw his characters (A22). One of Hebel's stories has analogues in German and English popular tradition, and a scrutiny and comparison of these can help us achieve a better understanding of how the author approached his sources (A23). More generally, one could argue that, just as the study of standard language has at times pushed the study of dialect to the fringes of respectable scholarship, the preoccupation with "great" literature has in some instances led to a neglect of the oral traditions that have often fed the main stream without ceasing to pursue their own erratic, still largely unmapped courses (A24).

From what I have said so far it will be clear that I see my first section as being concerned in the first place

with the continuum of variation that characterizes dialect and oral literature. An oral tradition easily passes from one language community to another (A16, A23, A24). In transmission it will be spontaneously and unreflectingly adapted to its new linguistic and cultural environment. This process of assimilation has a great deal in common with translation (A5), and indeed the translator may on occasion wish to simulate the vagaries of oral tradition, as when Philip Schofield turns the Göckerliberg of the Grimms' "Der alte Hildebrand" into Croaghpatrick (B3).

Nevertheless, translation differs from transmission in that it is, or should be, a conscious, carefully controlled process, in which the translator is charged with the scrupulous and consistent "replacement of textual material in one language by equivalent textual material in another language", to quote and add to Catford's definition.[12] Translators no doubt stand to gain a great deal from linguistic studies such as those of Catford and his successors, but in fact there is an enormous gap between theory and practice. Even academic translations such as those by Luke and his colleagues are by no means innocent of inaccuracies (B3), and it is perhaps the translation critic rather than the translation theorist who can do most to influence the standard of translations presented to the public.

Obviously the pedagogue has an important role to play here, and in B1 and B2 I have tried to show how, in spite of a superficial resemblance, an English and a German construction fulfil different functions within their

respective grammatical systems, and must not be regarded by the student as equivalent to each other. Perhaps students would also benefit from discussions of other difficult constructions scarcely touched on in bilingual grammars, such as those exemplified in the sentences "He stood there with his arms folded" and "It was a garden surrounded by trees".

However that may be, what emerges from such studies is that, in order to be in full control of the process of translation, the student needs to have an insight not only into the workings of the target language, but also into those of the source language, even though the one or the other is his mother tongue. His tools will include grammars and other works of reference for both languages, but also of course bilingual dictionaries. In B4, B5, B6 and B7 I have discussed the merits and otherwise of some of the dictionaries the student is likely to come across.

It will be clear that much of what I have grouped under Section B stems from my experience of teaching translation, but also from a desire to improve the tools available to the translator, and hence the quality of the work he produces. But as I have already suggested, it is translation criticism which is most likely to have an immediate impact on the quality of published translations, and it would no doubt have a salutary effect if more academics qualified to do so were to examine the credentials of renderings that claim to read like their originals.

It has been said that any literary critic worth his

salt must at one time or another have exercised himself in some of the literary forms on which he pronounces. By the same token, the teacher of translation, the translation critic, and for that matter the translation theorist ought perhaps from time to time to practise what they preach, and try their hand at translating. The pieces of work grouped under Section C were done with this in mind, so that I could share my students' sense of pleasure and frustration in grappling with German texts, try out some of the works of reference that are available, and, incidentally, put some of my ideas about translation into practice. I deliberately chose a fairly wide range of texts for translation, from the special language of linguistics (C2), to literary prose (C1, C3, C4), and a dialect poem (C5).

In spite of what is often said about the differences between scientific and literary translation, it seems to me that the experience is essentially the same: the need to penetrate through the shell of words to what the author really means, and the desire to present the various levels of meaning as faithfully as possible in well-formed and rhythmically satisfying sentences. With C2 I had the satisfaction of being able to consult the author at all stages. Even so, there was always the difficulty of finding equivalents for many of the terms used in a new and rapidly developing discipline.[13] With the Britting translations the main problem was in coping with clause, sentence and paragraph boundaries and the tension between colloquial and "poetic" language. Finally, with the Hebel (C5) we

come full circle, since here we return to the question of dialect and standard language.

The dialect I chose here was that of my native North Staffordshire, or what I remember of it. In presenting this, my experience of phonemic analysis stood me in good stead when it came to devising spellings, and my study of Hardy's use of dialect helped me for instance in striking a balance between dialect and standard language. But I made no attempt to steer a course midway between what one might call assimilation on the one hand, and alienation on the other. The use of dialect is an attempt to assimilate the original as far as possible, while the retention of place-names in their original form is presumably likely to alienate the reader. No doubt other strategies would be possible, and many would be more successful, but all would at one point or another come up against the limits of translatability[14] with a text as challenging as this.

1. K. M. Petyt, The Study of Dialect (London, Andre Deutsch, 1980), p. 185.

2. I am not, of course, advocating linguistic anarchy here, but suggesting that the view of dialects as "imperfect and distorted versions of the standard literary languages" is still to some extent with us. See John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (London, Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 34 - 35.

3. Petyt, The Study of Dialect, p. 185.

4. For an account of such periodicals, and the societies which publish them, see G. L. Brook, "Dialect Societies in England", The Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 30 (1981), pp. 3 - 11. The impression that an interest in dialect is exclusive to the North should, however, be countered by a reference to, say, the Devonshire Association and its Transactions, and to such periodicals as Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset.

5. Graham Shorrocks puts it nicely: "After all, dialect does not simply consist of lists of words and grammatical rules. Rather it is the means of communication used by a particular society - a society which has beliefs, modes of behaviour, and an inherited stock of wisdom and traditions, in short a culture of its own." See his "Local Traditions - Things to Collect", The Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 28 (1979), pp. 11 - 15.

6. J. K. Chambers & Peter Trudgill, Dialectology (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 35.

7. See for instance Gerda Grober-Glück, "Zur Verbreitung von Redensarten und Vorstellungen des Volksglaubens nach den Sammlungen des Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde", Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, 58 (1962), pp. 41 - 71.

8. Martyn F. Wakelin, English Dialects: An Introduction, revised edition (London, Athlone Press, 1977), p. 10.

9. Richard M. Dorson, The British Folklorists: A History (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 318.

10. The English Dialect Dictionary, edited by Joseph Wright, six volumes (1898 - 1905) (London, Oxford University Press, 1970). In fact E. M. Wright made copious use of this, and, it would appear, of incidental material, in her Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore (London, Oxford University Press, 1913). No reprint seems ever to have been issued.

11. Those who give all the praise to the dialectological methods developed by Wright's Continental contemporaries would do well to consider this and other advantages of The English Dialect Dictionary. In the article referred to in footnote 4 above, G. L. Brook puts into perspective some of the criticisms that have been levelled at Wright.

12. J. C. Catford, A Linguistic Theory of Translation (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 20.

13. I chose this author because some of his work appealed to me, but also because any maladroitness on my part would look less like sacrilege than if I had picked on a "great" writer, and because he had never, I believe, been previously done into English.

14. For a discussion of the limits of translatability, see Catford, A Linguistic Theory of Translation, pp. 93 - 103.

Acknowledgements

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A. Studies of English and German Dialects and Oral Tradition and their Representation in Literature.

1. "Oral Tradition in the South-West of England." Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, 13/73, 1973, 8 - 15.

2. "The Changing Sound Pattern of a German Dialect." Journal of the International Phonetic Association, 4/1, June 1974, 4 - 12.

3. "Tradition and Language in an Urban Community." Lore and Language, 2/2, January 1975, 5 - 8.

4. "Legend and Jocular Tale in a German Community." New German Studies, 3/2, Summer 1975, 53 - 62.

5. "Variation in Oral Tradition." Lore and Language, 2/3, July 1975, 19 - 23.

6. "A Reflex of Middle English ich." Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, 30/302, September 1975, 122 - 124.

7. "Some Notes on the Riddle." Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 26, January 1977, 11 - 14.

8. "Further Notes on the Riddle." Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 27, January 1978, 24 - 30.

9. "Linguistic Variation in Some Dialects of Wessex." Quinquereme, 1/1, January 1978, 121 - 130.

10. "Notes on Two English Dialect Words of Obscure Origin." Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 28, January 1979, 38 - 40.

11. "Dorset and Somerset Dialects. Unrecorded Words and Sayings." Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, 30/309, March 1979, 395 - 399.

12. "Possible Sources for the Legend of Wizard's Slough in R. D. Blackmore's Lorna Doone." Lore and Language, 3/2, January 1980, 36 - 41.

13. "Whim-Whams for a Goose's Bridle: A List of Put-Offs and Related Forms in English and German." Lore and Language, 3/3, July 1980, 32 - 49.

14. "Proverbial Sayings from the North Midlands and South-West of England." Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 29, January 1980, 14 -22.(Typescript version)

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15. Review of Der unbekannte Bruder Grimm: Deutsche Sagen von Ferdinand Philipp Grimm, edited by Gerd Hoffmann and Heinz Rölleke. Quinquereme, 4/1, January 1981, 136 - 138.

16. "Somerset Versions of a Medieval Legend." Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, 31/314, September 1981, 169 - 174.

17. "Traditions from Altarnun and South Zeal." Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, 35/1, Spring 1982, 21 - 25.

18. "Cockaigne and Lubberland: On the Survival of Some Popular Themes and Forms in English." Quinquereme, 5/2, July 1982, 226 - 240.

19. "Of Skinflints and Pinchfarthings." (To be published in Folklore.)

20. "Tail Corn 1968 - 80: Selected and Annotated by J. B. Smith." (A revised version to be published in Lore and Language.)

21. "A Note on Two Dialect Words in The Return of the Native." Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, 31/317, March 1983, 279 - 280. (Typescript version)

22. "Dialect in Thomas Hardy's Shorter Stories." (To be published in The Thomas Hardy Annual.)

23. "Johann Peter Hebel's 'Heimliche Enthauptung': Querverbindungen zur mündlichen Überlieferung." (To be published in Badische Heimat.)

24. "Paying the Piper." (To be published in Quinquereme.)

25. "The Changing Topography of Hardy's 'Romantic Adventures'."

B. Studies of English and German with Particular Reference to Problems of Translation.

1. "Die Nominalphrase als Prädikativ und als freie Umstandsangabe im Englischen und im Deutschen." Muttersprache, 5/1977, 326 -336.

2. "The Noun Phrase as Complement and as Adverbial Clause in Contemporary English." English Studies, 59/4, August 1978, 361 - 368.

3. "From Weser to Gaudie Watter." Review article on Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm: Selected Tales. Translated with an introduction and notes by David Luke. Quinquereme, 6/2, July 1983, 239 - 244.

4. Review of English Special Languages: Principles and Practice in Science and Technology, by Juan C. Sager, David Dungworth & Peter F. McDonald. Lore and Language, 3/3, July 1980, Part B, 121 - 122.

5. Review of The Compact Dictionary of Exact Science and Technology, Vol. 1, English-German, by A. Kucera. Quinquereme, 4/1, January 1981, 132 - 133.

6. Review of Collins German-English English-German Dictionary, by Peter Terrell, Veronika Calderwood-Schnorr, Wendy V. A. Morris and Roland Breitsprecher. Quinquereme, 4/2, July 1981, 288 - 290.

7. Review of Harrap's Concise German and English Dictionary, edited by Robin Sawers. Quinquereme, 6/2, July 1983, 253 - 255.

C. Translations from German into English.

1. Translation of "Fischfrevel an der Donau", by Georg Britting, as "The Trespass". South West Review, 14, August 1982, 20 - 25.

2. Translation of "Einige Hypothesen zum Erwerb der Artikelwortflexion im Deutschen als Fremdsprache", by Rainer Dietrich, as "Some Hypotheses on the Acquisition of the Flexion of Determiners in German as a Foreign Language". Quinquereme, 6/1, January 1983, 1 - 27.

3. Translation of "Geheimrat Zet", by Georg Britting, as "Privy Councillor Zet".

4. Translation of "Das Ferkelgedicht", by Georg Britting, as "Of Pigs and Poetry".

5. Translation of Die Vergänglichkeit, by Johann Peter Hebel, as Sic Transit. (To be published in Agenda.)

(Originals are attached for all but the second translation listed above.)

A1. Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, 13/73, 1973

ORAL TRADITION IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF ENGLAND

by J. B. SMITH

In the introduction to his book Ask the Fellows who cut the Hay George Ewart Evans speaks of the old people in the countryside as "survivors from another era":

> "Their knowledge of dialect, folk tales and songs, old customs and usages, and craft vocabularies, and their ability to identify and describe the use of farm implements which are now going into limbo after being used for centuries, are sufficient reasons why they should have the local historian's greatest attention."

Already before the turn of the century Yeats reported that the oral tradition of Ireland was dying fast where it was not already dead and, nearer home, Hardy described a Wessex in which he knew profound changes were taking place. Now, more than a lifetime later, the very last representatives of the old order have all but disappeared. Those who had not reached maturity by the beginning of the First World War can no longer be said to be bearers of the old tradition in the fullest sense of the word. A man of sixty-five who lives in the village on Exmoor where his father was born before him put it like this:

> "You're a-coming round to vind out something now as far as the old dialect is concerned, but you're really, what, fifty years or more too late. You zee, as far as that's concerned, the like o' me's spoilt. I'm spoilt as far as that's concerned. . . The people has left here and that contact's gone, and you're contacting other people that have come in here."

And after describing a local character who would not have been out of place in Hardy's pages the same man said, " 'Tis late in the day for them people. They're all gone."

Old people have of course always been nostalgic. The old days were always better. But in the accounts of my informants there is often an awareness of the shortcomings of the old way of life - the poverty and toil, the social stratification, the ignorance and narrow-mindedness of

village life. Yet at the same time there is a keen sense of the value of money and labour in the old days, a sense of pride in work and craftsmanship, and above all the sense of belonging to a community in which one had one's acknowledged place.

A farmer had to be able to turn his hand to innumerable tasks:

> "Well, there wasn't nothing I couldn't do, see, - build ricks, thatch 'em, plough. I've a-ploughed a hundred acres in a year with the same two horses. And I've cut a hundred and ten acres of grass in a year with the same two horses. - It's about four o'clock in the morning when you start then."

You made your own bread, butter and cheese. The following is an account of how the week's supply of bread was baked in the farmhouse:

> "We used to have twopence ha'penny worth o' yeast a wik for mek our lot o' bread. That would mek pretty nigh a bushel o' bread - mak it rise. We used to use a zack of flour in five wiks years ago here. That was for cakes and everything. We used to have twopence ha'penny's worth o' yeast and that would mek nine great big loaves. The night before we used to mek up the dough, put it in the bread-tub - we'd a proper big tub for the job -, put it over by the fire and cover it with a big cloth. Coo, by the morning it was right up over the blooming tub . . . Then we used to yet (=heat) th'oven, and after dinner some time or other we should start taking it out and working it up and then clean out th'oven. Her (= the lady of the house) used to zay, 'Her'll soon be up. White dog's coming.' Arter he'd been on a bit he'd git black, and when he was getting hot he'd git white. All that black would go out of the bricks in th'oven and her'd say 'The white dog's come. It's hot now.' "

This old man was filled with trepidation when, as a boy, he had to twist straw ropes for a thatcher:

> "I've had to turn a twister for a thatcher -fore I went to school, to make a blooming bind a mile long, to mek enough to go on with, and I used to be worried to death, 'fraid I

had to bide too long, be late for school, - bide and turn and turn and turn till he'd worked backwards . . . The longer he got the harder he was to turn."

The work of farmer and craftsman was fitted to the season and weather. Here a thatcher describes how cold weather was used for cutting wood while in wet weather the spars were made:

"We used to buy a lot of wood jist up past the tunnel - oh, three or four acres a year, and have it all home in the winter time, - cut it in the winter when it's cold and then go on thatching when it's fine. We used to make the spars by night, and mek 'em in the daytime when it's raining hard. We used to mek 'em in this house. I used to sit back there, and father used sit here . . ."

The thatcher had a boy who fetched and carried and watered the reed. Before he became a full initiate the boy might expect to receive some of his instructions in the form of a riddle, and if he failed to solve this he was punished accordingly:

" 'Reeds, spars and cider - what I call for last, bring first.' - And that was cider. And the boy brought reed. Then he had the stick."

Tools and implements were used which have now become obsolete:

"Years ago we used to weigh grain by the peck, see . . . And then you had the strick on top - a round piece o' stick. Well, he was made o' purpose, something like a rolling pin. Well, then you dip off your peck and strick 'n - just rub your strick 'cross 'n and he'd be right up to the brim and no more."

The scarecrow was called a "mommet" in some parts, but there were other ways of keeping the birds off:

"Some would have like an old wind-wheel going around. My brother made one. He made a wind-wheel, a frame, and he had a piece of hoop-iron, and he had a cog-wheel. And when the wind did blow, see, this old wind-wheel would turn and this bit iron would clacky on the cog-wheel going around. That would keep 'em frightened! "

Few farm tasks were permitted on a Sunday. Old farmers would not permit haymaking, even if the weather was fine and it had been wet before, but an exception was made in the case of wheat:

"My father would never hay-mak (i. e. on Sundays). They wouldn't do it years ago, old farmers, nor wouldn't have it done. The only thing they reckoned they would do was carry a field o' wheat . . . 'cause they reckoned 'twas the food we eat. And they reckoned wasn't nothing wrong in that. But never else."

One's life was intimately tied up with the animals on the farm. A carter or horseman spent more time with his horses than he did with his family or associates, and sometimes he seems to have respected them more:

"Before, old carter'd think more of his horses than he did his home in a sense, and he'd be there early, you know, and feed and groom the old horses and that was his life - horses, and they be. If you work 'em for a year they be the only company you got all day, and they knows, they knows the work, they knows 'ee and are more sensible than half the blokes . . . They knows what they ought to do or where they ought to turn or where to go if you just speak to 'em, see. Well, they be your life."

In the old days people had to provide their own entertainment in the evenings, and they were resourceful enough in doing this:

"Now these old people that lived here years ago, some o' them, they could tell you stories, they could keep you here till ten, twelve o' clock tonight, and you wouldn't be silent, not five minutes. Telling you tales. Some of them'd tell lies. But telling these stories. Some very genuine. And they'd be laughing together about it . . roaring with laughter, over something, - misfortune that somebody had, or, you know what I mean, comical queer things happening. But all them, they're gone."

Sometimes entertainment was provided on a larger scale. Here is part of a description of a "made-up" carnival which

took place in a Devonshire village sixty or seventy years ago:

"They made'n up, see, up there; had a gert bonfire down the field, and they 'lected old Jimmie Smith the mayor of Smeathorpe. He had a coachman call for him, and Jimmie had an old black cob, see, and a little trap. They drove Jimmie all round the town, right round the 'borough' as they called it, up Silver Street and down High Street. - It was only old, little lanes and roads, see, and when they passed the 'mayor's' house they brought out cider and we had to stop there and drink. And old Jimmie had a bicycle chain over the mayor's robes . . ."

However, the older countryman does not have an idealized picture of the past as composed of honest toil by day and innocent jollification by night. He is often ironically aware that these were closed communities in which the squire, the parson and the schoolmaster held undisputed sway and the farm-labourer owed his employer unquestioning obedience. Everyone danced attendance on the parson. It was not unusual for this gentleman to be something of an eccentric, and he would frequently allow himself privileges when visiting his parishioners, as we hear from the following account:

"They was pretty near like under 'en . . . They was all mazed for the parson . . . And he'd come round visit 'ee. I've knowed'n come over our place when the baker'd been, when you had they old four-pound loaves. And he used to sit on the corner of the table. And he'd crack off some o' that bread . . . 'Coo,' he said, 'that's good stuff! ' - No, they was looked up to. Over the lot, wasn't 'em? They was respected different altogether."

But in return figures of authority were subjected to minute scrutiny, their foibles and mannerisms providing fine material for rustic comedy. Here is an account of how a reverend gentleman went rabbit-shooting but never bagged a rabbit:

"He used to come over here night-times shooting rabbits along of I, before he was married, you know . . . Ay, he come over here springtime, when there was so many rabbits out feeding, you know, summertime and that. He never killed a rabbit! Oh, he'd go out there on the knap. You'd zee 'em going in the vuzz . . . We'd creep out quiet, you know, and you could zee 'em down there. I used to zay to 'en, 'Now you can have a shot there! ' . . . He fired away. And there was an old rabbit pretty near down in the corner. When thick gun go off they don't move for a minute. They listen, see. He said, 'I think I've covered that one nicely. ' - I said, 'Which one?' He said, 'That one down there. ' I said . . . 'That's about threetimes too far for a gun to kill a rabbit down there! ' - He never killed a rabbit! "

But if one's superiors were the subject of clandestine mockery there was not stinting of open abuse for one's equals. - A person whose dinner consisted of bread and cheese and a raw onion could not allow himself the luxury of too much comment on the affairs and ways of the world: "They'st got more to say than they'st got t'eat! Shut thee mouth! " While even if the standard of sartorial elegance was not high those who did not keep up to the modest norm were described in fitting terms: "Her's got a frock on hangs like wol sack-bag." "Thy turn-ups are hanging like lot o' sack-bags."

There was much intermarriage in the old rural communities, and where a few surnames prevailed and the Old and New Testaments provided only a limited number of suitable Christian names individuals were best distinguished by nicknames. Some chance incident in a person's early years would give rise to a fitting epithet which would stick for ever:

"And my big boy once, he went down to the tent when they had a meeting there, and in a thunder-storm he got wet through. He come outside, you know, and one of the neighbours had 'en in to dry the tunic what he had. He comed outside and comed on home, and they called him 'Wetty Dry'. - Mean to say, he'd been wet and they dried him again. And they call him 'Wetty Dry' to this moment, and now he's sixty-seven! "

It was the nickname which was important in daily intercourse, while the real name was reserved for formal occasions. Indeed nicknames were so prevalent that if a person was referred to by his proper name his neighbours might not even know who was meant:

"My father-in-law, he was in the Territorials at Taunton, and he come home one Sunday morning on a horse. And

they said, 'Look-see wol Jobie Sojer going down Broadway on horseback . . .' And as the children comed on they used to call 'em all 'sojers'. And my husband was always called 'Sammy Sojer', and if anybody wanted me and they'd say 'Go and tell Bessie Osborne I want her,' they wouldn't know who 'twas. But if they'd say, 'Tell Bess Sojer I want her', they'd know who they mean . . ."

But nicknames were not restricted to individuals, for where there was inter-village rivalry whole communities were aptly christened, sometimes after their reputed staple diet. "Get on there, Bloater Heads," cry one faction at a football match. "Get on there, Donkey Broth!" cry the opposing group, for keeping donkeys and eating broth of doubtful provenance are presumably a sufficient claim to fame.

In spite of the much-praised sense of community there was no doubt much isolation, and many an old person living alone, half crazed with loneliness, sickness and old age, was invested by ignorance and superstition with supernatural powers:

"Old chap died down here a few years ago, and he was telling me that this old woman kept an inn, you see, right up on a lonely spot on top o' the hills here. And he said every time he went by there there's always something happened to his cart . . . He said the linchpin'd come out or something or other'd happen on that cart when he did pass the place, see."

There were signs and tokens. To see a corpse at night was often but not always an omen of an impending death in the area:

"Well, I and Mother coming up through here once with horse and waggon, twelve o' clock at night, and I zed, 'Bright light's coming!' and I pulled in, and there was a corpse went on. And went down the lane, vanished straight away. Didn't see no more . . . I zed, 'They can't go down there 'coz it's river down there,' and didn't see no more . . . We thought 'twas a token, but we never heard nothing."

And indeed the end of the world was always at hand:

"I heard Father say my grandfather was up in the copse making hurdles and he thought the world was coming t'end. And he went in old bush. And instead o' that it was a 'clipse (i.e. eclipse). 'Twas coming dark, and he thought the world was coming t'end, and all the vowls went to roost."

It seems that the traditional world of the countryman has also in many ways come to an end. A hundred years ago he belonged to an articulate tradition, not scientific or rational, but nevertheless organic and vital, in which each person, thing and event had its proper real and symbolic place. It was on such a tradition that much of English literature drew, but today we can only see the last relics of it in the rural scene. Those who lament the passing of the last representatives of that tradition may perhaps best be answered by Hardy. In The Dorsetshire Labourer he says:

"That seclusion and immutability, which was so bad for their pockets, was an unrivalled fosterer of their personal charm in the eyes of those whose experience had been less limited . . . They are losing their individuality, but they are widening the range of their ideas, and gaining in freedom. It is too much to expect them to remain stagnant and old-fashioned for the pleasure of romantic spectators."

(2) A better idea, it would seem, is to follow the example of *mature, dirty, spiral*, using the descriptive adjective or noun directly as a verb. (We already do this when describing vowel changes as FRONTING or BACKING.) So what children do to alveolars before /l/ is VELAR them : Smith's discussion refers to the velaring of coronals before a velarized consonant. The /t/ of ['æʔləs] is glottalled (in the States, glottaled). Russian shows the palatalling and alveolaring of velars.

This second proposal seems to yield terms which are unambiguous, yet trip reasonably freely off the tongue. In *ten minutes* we often bilabial the (underlying) /n/ of *ten*; in *ten things* we dental it. Speakers frequently nasal the /g/ of *langues modernes*. A synonym of elision is obviously zeroing. Synchronically, morphological alternations such as *face-facial, part-partial* can be said to involve the palatoalveolaring of alveolars, though historically this no doubt arose through palatalization (or do I mean palatalizeding ?). The development of Latin /ai/ to Romance /e/ is an instance of monophthonging. The various mutations of Welsh *pen* involve voicing (?voiceding, lenising) to *ben*, fricativing to *phen*, and nasalling to *mhen*.

Have colleagues other, better, proposals ?

J. C. W.

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The changing sound pattern of a German dialect

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The subject of these notes is the dialect of Mudau, a small market-town in the south-eastern Odenwald, 18 km N.E. of Eberbach (Neckar) and 19 km S.S.W. of Miltenberg (Main). The population numbers around 1700 and the main means of livelihood are shop-keeping, agriculture and local light industry.

In recent decades the dialect, which is South Franconian, has been subjected to considerable influence from the standard language (NHG) and the following is an attempt to show how the phonological system has been affected. As an aid to description three successive stages of development have been assumed: traditional dialect, conservative dialect and semi-dialect.

We can gain a fair impression of traditional dialect in Mudau, as it was spoken, say, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, by comparing local renderings of the vernacular (Humpert, 1954) with descriptions of neighbouring dialects (Breunig, 1891; Roedder, 1936) and the phonological interpretation of these by Wiesinger (1970).

In the living speech of the older generation we can distinguish between the somewhat archaic style of conservative dialect on the one hand, used in reading dialect literature, reciting traditional material, 'translating' Wenker's sentences, etc., and the more colloquial style of semi-dialect (Halbmundart) on the other, which is used in everyday situations inside and outside the family. Admittedly there is much free variation, new forms existing alongside archaisms in both styles, but the general tendencies are clear, and it is these which are outlined below.

Unless otherwise stated the phonemic transcriptions are of conservative dialect.

Long vowels and diphthongs

The evidence is that the following system of long vowels and diphthongs obtained in traditional dialect:

iː			uː
eː	ei		oː
ɛː	ɛi	ɔu	
	ai	au	
		aː	

The main developments to be noted in conservative dialect are:

(1) The /e:/ — /ei/ contrast is no longer relevant

and

(2) We find /ɔ:/ wherever traditional /o:/ corresponds to NHG /a:/.

These changes mean that conservative dialect has the following system:

i:			u:
e:			o:
ɛ:	ɛi	ɔu	ɔ:
	ai	au	
	a:		

In semi-dialect we find further changes as follows:

(1) Where conservative dialect has /ɛi/ and the standard language has /ɔʏ/, semi-dialect has /ai/, which is the nearest approximation to the NHG sound within the terms of the dialectal system.

(2) Conservative /ɛ:/ likewise tends to become /ai/ where it corresponds distributionally to NHG /ai/. A transitional variant [ɛi] is not uncommon.

(3) Probably as a result of the major redistribution referred to in (1) and (2) above the /ɛ:/ — /ɛi/ contrast becomes irrelevant, and instead we find a single phoneme which varies freely between monophthongal and diphthongal realizations.

(4) Under the influence of NHG /a:/, conservative /ɔ:/ becomes /a:/ in semi-dialect.

(5) Conservative /ɔu/ and /o:/, which generally have the same distribution as NHG /o:/, have merged in semi-dialect, and we find only /o:/.

Thus semi-dialect has the following system of long vowels and diphthongs:

i:			u:
e:			o:
ɛ:			
	ai	au	
	a:		

which differs from the corresponding NHG system only in that it lacks /ɔʏ/ and the front rounded vowels /y:/ and /ø:/, the latter generally being represented by /i:/ and /e:/ respectively. There are of course differences in distribution apart from this, as shown below.

Except as stated below the long vowels and diphthongs are realized as follows: /i:/ and /u:/ are slightly lower than cardinal, while /e:/ and /o:/ correspond to the cardinal sounds. /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ are slightly more close than cardinal, while /a:/ lies between C4 and C5, but slightly nearer to the former. All the long vowels are tense. Of the diphthongs /ɛi/ and /ai/ glide from [ɛ̯] and [a̲] respectively to a very close position in the region of C1, while /au/ moves from [a̲], and /ɔu/ from [ɔ̯], to a very close position in the region of C8. All diphthongs are stressed on the first element.

/i:/ occurs in /fi:l/ ' much ', /bri:f/ ' letter ', /vi:ʃd/ ' wild ', /ki:/ ' cows ' etc.

/e:/ differs from NHG /e:/ in that diphthongized free variants occur. These range from a clearly articulated closing diphthong [ei] to variants in which the glide is scarcely perceptible: /e:l/ ' oil ', /ʃe:f/ ' sheep ' (pl.), /'be:ʃn/ ' wicked ' (+ inflexional /n/), /e:/ ' marriage ' etc.

/ɛ:/ occurs in /glɛ:d/ ' dress ', /'mɛ:ʃdɑ/ ' master ', /gə'vɛ:ə/ ' been ', /dsvɛ:/ ' two ' etc.

/ɛi/ occurs in /ɛil/ ' owl ', /gɛid/ ' goes ', /'bɛiʃn/ ' broom ', /sɛi/ ' pigs ', ' (I) see ', /nɛi/ ' new ' etc.

In semi-dialect the /ɛ:/ — /ɛi/ opposition is no longer valid, being represented by a single phoneme

/ɛ:/ , whose realizations vary freely between [ɛ:] and [ɛi]. Thus we find both [ʃdɛ:d] and [ʃdɛid] ' (he) stands ', ['mɛ:dlə] and ['mɛidlə] ' girl ' etc.

/ai/ occurs in /dsaid/ ' time ', /'baisə/ ' to bite ', /drai/ ' three ' etc. In semi-dialect /ai/ represents NHG /ɔʏ/, as in /nai/ ' new ', and NHG /ai/ where conservative dialect has /ɛ:/, as in /'maiʃdɑ/ ' master '.

/a:/ occurs in /dsa:l/ ' number ', /ra:d/ ' wheel ', /ba:ʃ/ ' grandmother ', /bra:f/ ' well-behaved ' etc. /a:/ also represents NHG /au/ (MHG ou) in conservative dialect, as in /ba:m/ ' tree ', /fra:/ ' woman ', but in semi-dialect we usually find /au/. Conservative /ɔ:/ also tends to become /a:/ in semi-dialect, and we find /ra:d/ ' advice ', /'ʃla:fə/ ' to sleep ' etc.

/au/ occurs in /mauʃ/ ' mouse ', /gaul/ ' horse ', /braun/ ' brown ' etc., and in semi-dialect in /baum/ ' tree ', /frau/ ' woman ' etc.

/ɔ:/ is generally restricted to conservative dialect, as in /ʃɔ:f/ ' sheep ' (sg.), /mɔ:l/ ' occasion ', /'blɔ:ʃə/ ' to blow ', /'frɔ:xə/ ' to ask ', /blɔ:/ ' blue '.

/ɔu/ occurs in /rɔud/ ' red ', /'dɔunə/ ' to do ', /hɔul/ ' hollow ', /'hɔuʃə/ ' trousers ', /frɔu/ ' glad ' etc. It does not occur before /r/ in the same syllable.

/o:/ occurs in /'bo:də/ ' storeroom ', /'ho:lə/ ' to fetch ', /mo:ʃd/ ' cider ', /bə'dro:xə/ ' cheated ' (past participle), /ko:rb/ ' basket ' etc.

In semi-dialect /ɔu/ and /o:/ have fallen together and are represented by a single phoneme /o:/, which may be realized, even in words which traditionally have [o:], as a slightly diphthongized sound, the first element of which is somewhat centralized: [öᵘ]. This variant does not occur before /r/.

/u:/ occurs in /'bu:də/ ' stalls ', /'bu:sə/ ' penance ', /'su:xə/ ' to seek ', /ʃu:/ ' shoe ' etc. A slightly centralized variant [ü:] occurs sporadically.

Nasalized vowels

Traditional dialect has a set of nasalized vowel phonemes which arose through the loss of final nasal consonants. Conservative dialect has nasalized vowels corresponding to all long vowels and diphthongs except for /ɔu/, but not all of these contrast regularly with the oral sounds and we are only justified in setting up the phonemes /ĩ:, ɛ̃:, ãi, ɑ̃:/. These are also common in semi-dialect, but they are frequently in free variation with the corresponding vowel or diphthong + nasal consonant. In semi-dialect /ɛ̃:/ tends to become /ãi/ where the standard language has /ai/ + nasal consonant.

Nasalization is a conspicuous phonetic feature of the dialect at all stages of development, and may affect any vowel occurring in the neighbourhood of a nasal consonant.

But for the fact that they are articulated with lowered velum the nasalized vowels and diphthongs are phonetically identical with their oral counterparts. The only exception is /ɑ̃:/, which is more retracted than /a:/ and only slightly in advance of C5.

Examples from conservative dialect are /kĩ:/ ' firewood ', /dsɛ̃:/ ' ten ', /ʃdɛ̃:/ ' stone ', /vãi/ ' wine ', /mɑ̃:/ ' man '. In semi-dialect we find [ʃdɛ̃i] and [ʃdãi] for ' stone ', while /ɛ̃:/ is realized indifferently as [ɛ̃:] or [ɛ̃i]. Thus we find [dsɛ̃i] alongside [dsɛ̃:] for ' ten '. Similar changes in the long vowels and diphthongs have already been outlined above.

Short vowels

The traditional /i, e, ɛ, a, o, u/ system of short vowels has been preserved in conservative dialect. In semi-dialect, however, [e] and

[ɛ] no longer contrast, and we thus have a five-vowel system corresponding to the /ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, ʊ/ of NHG. Only the front rounded vowels /ʏ/ and /œ/ are lacking, these normally being represented by the corresponding unrounded vowels.

In semi-dialect the short front vowels are still generally realized as [ɛ̣] before /r/, while the short back vowels are generally [ɔ̣] before /r/. On the other hand we see the influence of NHG in that the /a/ — /a:/ contrast is no longer neutralized in certain environments as set out below. A further step in the direction of the standard language may be seen in the fact that the traditionally long vowels are shortened where NHG has short vowels. For example conservative /di:ʃ/ ' table ' becomes /diʃ/. At the same time the traditionally short vowels are lengthened where NHG has long vowels and we find, for instance, semi-dialect /bu:x/ ' book ' for conservative /bux/.

Apart from the exceptions set out below the short vowels are realized as follows: /i/ and /u/ are only slightly lower than cardinal; /e/ and /o/ are about cardinal; /ɛ/ is [ɛ̣], while /a/ is somewhat retracted from C4 and thus resembles /a:/ in quality. The close and half-close short vowels are rather tense.

/i/ occurs in /'midɑ/ ' mothers ', /'ʃimbfə/ ' to scold ', /'bixɑ/ ' books ', /'flikə/ ' to patch ' etc. Unstressed /i/ occurs after /l/ in conservative dialect in /'milix/ ' milk ', /'melikə/ ' to milk '.

/e/ occurs in /'besɑ/ ' better ', /gnebf/ ' buttons ', /'lexɑ/ ' holes ', /'ʃdekə/ ' to put ' etc.

/ɛ/ occurs in /'vɛdɑ/ ' weather ', /hɛm/ ' shirt ', /'rɛxə/ ' rake ' /'flɛkə/ ' place ' etc.

Conservative dialect preserves the /e/ — /ɛ/ contrast in such pairs as /feʃd/ ' firm ' and /fɛʃd/ ' festival ', but semi-dialect has done away with the distinction and uses [e] and [ɛ̣] indifferently. There is a tendency, however, for the use of [ɛ̣] to spread under the influence of the standard language, especially in the neighbourhood of /r, l, m, n/, and before /ŋ/ or /ɑ/.

Immediately before /r/ the /i/ — /e/ — /ɛ/ contrast is neutralized in favour of /ɛ/ as in /hɛrʃ/ ' stag ', /ʃɛrds/ ' apron ', /'fɛrʃdɑ/ ' forester ' beside /hɛr/ ' gentleman '.

/a/ occurs in /'fadɑ/ ' father ', /'balə/ ' ball ', /'maxə/ ' to make ', /'karlə/ ' Charles ' etc. When immediately followed by a nasal /a/ is [ɑ̃], as in /am/ ' midwife '.

Immediately before final /l/, /l/ + consonant, /x/ or /x/ + consonant the /a/ — /a:/ contrast is neutralized and we find only /a:/, as in /ʃda:l/ ' stable ', /va:ld/ ' wood ', /ba:x/

'stream', /na:xd/ 'night'. Semi-dialect tends, however, to use /a/ in these positions where NHG has /a/.

/o/ occurs in /'ʃodɑ/ 'gravel', /'losə/ 'to let', /'voxə/ 'weeks', /okʃ/ 'ox' etc.

Immediately before /r/ the /u/ — /o/ contrast is neutralized in favour of /o/, which is realized in this position as a more open sound [ọ], only slightly more close than C6: /borʃ/ 'youth', /'ahorn/ 'maple' etc. Semi-dialect sometimes has /u/ before /r/. At the same time we frequently find [ọ] for /o/ in semi-dialect where NHG has /ə/. This development is common in recent loan-words from NHG and also appears to be favoured by the proximity of liquids, nasals and /ɑ/.

/u/ occurs in /'brudɑ/ 'brother', /'sumɑ/ 'summer', /'kuxə/ 'cake', /fugʃ/ 'fox' etc. A slightly palatalized free variant [ü] is not uncommon.

Unstressed vowels

Traditional and conservative /ə/ and /ɑ/ remain in semi-dialect. They occur only in unstressed syllables.

/ə/ is a central vowel with neutral lip position. Although final /ə/ must originally have been followed by /n/ in most cases, it is not nasalized. A nasalized variant does, however, occur in conservative ['ɔ:β̃ə̃ḍ] 'evening' and ['ḍauʒə̃ḍ] 'thousand', and this [ə̃], although not common, could be regarded as phonemic.

/ə/ occurs in /'ʃraibə/ 'to write', /gə'ʃribə/ 'written', /'galxə/ 'gallows', /'gɛ:xə/ 'against', /'hindlə/ 'puppy' etc. It is also common finally, especially after long vowels, in heavily stressed words, as in /'du:ə/ 'you', /'nɛ:ə/ 'no'.

/ɑ/ occurs in /'ʃraibɑ/ 'clerk', /fɑ'rɔ:də/ 'betrayed' (past part.), /'haiɑn/ 'to marry' etc.

Consonants

The consonants of traditional and conservative dialect are as follows:

Voiceless fortes		Voiceless lenes			Voiced	
Stops	Fricative	Stops	Affricates	Fricatives	Sonants	Semi-vowels
p		b	bf	f	m	v
t		d	ds dʃ	s ʃ	n l	j
k		g		x	ŋ r	
	h					

This system remains fundamentally the same in semi-dialect, but there are changes in distribution. Thus /bf/, which does not occur initially in traditional and conservative dialect, replaces initial /p/ in words where NHG has /pf/, while /s/ replaces /ʃ/ where NHG has /s, z/ from MHG s. In semi-dialect /m, n, ŋ/ become more common finally after the nasalized vowel phonemes.

Except as stated below the consonants are phonetically and distributionally similar to their NHG counterparts.

Initially before vowels /p, t, k/ are slightly aspirated fortes and contrast with the lenes /b, d, g/. Initially before liquids, between vowels and finally /p, t, k/ occur as the corresponding lenes, while /b/ and /g/ occur as the corresponding fricatives between vowels, the /g/ — /x/ contrast being neutralized in this position. The affricates are noticeably lenis, and the same applies to the fricatives, especially after long vowels. Only the sonants and the semi-vowels are voiced. /r/ has vocalic allophones, and syllabic /r/ is [ɑ], although this has been treated as a separate phoneme above. /v/ and /j/ are articulated with little or no friction.

/p/ occurs as [pʰ] in /'pɛ:dɑ/ ' Peter ', /'pakə/ ' to pack ', /'parɑ/ ' clergyman ' etc. Medially it occurs as [b̥], as in /'lapə/ ' rag ', /'ʃopə/ ' quarter litre ', /'sepl/ ' Joseph '. Initially before /l, r/ and finally the /p/ — /b/ opposition is neutralized and we likewise find [b̥], as in /brinds/ ' prince ', /gnab/ ' scarce '.

/b/ occurs as [b̥] initially and finally: /'bɛ:də/ ' to pray ', /'bakə/ ' to bake ', /'barə/ ' hay-loft ', /grab/ ' crow '. Medially between voiced sounds it is the fricative [β̞]: /'lɛbɑ/ ' liver ', /'bu:bə/ ' boys ', /'hebl/ ' handle '.

/t/ occurs as [tʰ] only initially, in words borrowed from NHG: /'ta:dllɔus/ ' perfect ', /tu'nɛl/ ' tunnel ', /ti'ro:l/ ' Tirol '. Elsewhere the /t/ — /d/ opposition is neutralized and we find only [d̥]: /'dudə/ ' paper bags ', /'le:də/ ' to solder ', /mo'mɛnd/ ' moment '.

/d/ occurs as [d̥] in all positions: /'da:fl/ ' table ', /di:r/ ' door ', /'judə/ ' Jews ', /'le:də/ ' shops ', /bild/ ' picture '.

/k/ occurs as [kʰ] in /kold/ ' fetched ' (past part.), /'kumə/ ' come ' (past part.), /'bikə/ ' to crack (eggs) ', /'kɛrndl/ ' grain ' etc. Medially and finally it is realized as [g̊]: /'ge:kl/ ' cockerel ', /'jakə/ ' jackets ', /'bukl/ ' hill '; /ʃdik/ ' piece '. Initially before /l, r/ the /k/ — /g/ opposition is suspended and we find only [g̊]: /gri:g/ ' war ', ' jugs '.

/g/ occurs as [g̊] initially: /gold/ ' gold ', /'gumɑn/ ' gherkins ', /gɛrn/ ' gladly '. Medially between voiced sounds /g/, like /x/, is realized as a lenis palatal fricative [j̊] after palatal

sounds and as a lenis velar fricative [x̊] after velar sounds, /a/ and /a:/: /'bixlə/ 'to iron', /'rɛxəvorm/ 'earthworm', /'ɛrxɑ/ 'worse', /'kɛ:xl/ 'skittle'; /'maxɑ/ 'thin', /'na:xl/ 'nail', /'auxə/ 'eyes'. Similar fricatives are in free variation with [g̊] finally, but [j̊] is the rule in the suffix *-ig*. (In some words in [ij̊] the [j̊] has disappeared: /'fɛrdi/ 'ready', /'bosi/ 'comical'.)

/bf/ occurs in /'ʃobfə/ 'part of barn', /'ebfl/ 'apples', /dambf/ 'steam', /kobf/ 'head' etc. Initially it replaces conservative /p/ in semi-dialect: /'bfiŋʃdə/ 'Whitsuntide', /bfund/ 'pound' etc.

/ds/ occurs in /dsin/ 'pewter', /'budsəli/ 'fir-cones', /'adsl/ 'magpie', /ʃids/ 'gamekeeper' etc.

/dʃ/ occurs in /'fri:kvedʃə/ '(kind of) plum', /daidʃ/ 'German' etc.

/f/ occurs in /'fɛdɑ/ 'feather', 'fathers', /'o:fə/ 'stove', /hɔuf/ 'farm' etc.

/s/ does not occur initially before consonants: /sãi/ 'his', /'ʃdrɔ:sə/ 'streets', /'gro:sə/ 'grandmother', /gə'visd/ 'known', /'ɛ:nsə/ 'one (o'clock)', /fi:s/ 'feet', /gɛ:s/ 'goat', /daus/ 'outside'.

/ʃ/ occurs like NHG /ʃ/ in /ʃãi/ 'shimmer', /'dauʃə/ 'to exchange', /flɛ:ʃ/ 'meat' etc., but while NHG /ʃ/ + consonant is normally found only initially, there are no similar restrictions on dialectal /ʃ/, and alongside /ʃdad/ 'town', /ʃlapə/ 'slippers' etc., we find /'viʃpl/ 'wasp', /dorʃd/ 'thirst', /gɛiʃd/ '(you) go' etc.

Medially and finally dialectal /ʃ/ also corresponds in distribution to NHG /s, z/ where these derive from MHG s: /'blɔ:ʃə/ 'to blow', /'hɔuʃə/ 'trousers', /'dauʃəd/ 'thousand', /'linʃə/ 'lentils', /keiʃ/ 'cheese', /mauʃ/ 'mouse'. However, semi-dialect tends to replace this /ʃ/ by /s/ under the influence of the standard language, and we find for instance /'haisɑ/ 'houses' for conservative /'hɛiʃɑ/ and /'raisəbax/ 'Reisenbach' for /'raiʃəbox/.

/x/ is restricted to medial and final positions. After front vowels and liquids we find [j̊] and after back vowels, /a/ and /a:/ we find [x̊]: /'bixɑ/ 'books', /'dsi:xə/ 'to pull', /'rɛxə/ 'rake', /glaix/ 'same'; /'maxə/ 'to make', /'bu:xl/ 'beechnut', /'kauxə/ 'hewn', /da:x/ 'roof'.

/r/ is realized initially, after consonants and intervocalically as a voiced uvular frictionless continuant [ʁ]: /rauʃ/ 'intoxication', /frɔu/ 'glad', /'horə/ 'to slide'. Before all except

palatal and velar consonants we find a similar sound, but more weakly articulated: /dɛrb/ 'uncouth', /vord/ 'word', /morʃ/ 'rotten'. Before palatal and velar consonants it is an [ᴵ] glide, as in /kɛrx/ 'church', /parg/ 'park' etc., while finally after vowels in the same syllable it is [ɑ], as in /dɛr/ 'the', 'he', /hɔ:r/ 'hair' etc.

General remarks

It will be clear from the above that pressure from the standard language has brought about considerable distributional changes in the dialect and caused several traditional phonemic oppositions to be neutralized. All these developments have, however, taken place within the framework of the traditional phonological system, and, with the possible exception of the obsolescent /ɔ:/ of conservative dialect, no new phonemes have emerged. Thus semi-dialect still lacks the /ɔʏ/ and the front rounded vowels of NHG. At the same time it would be false to regard the phonological system of semi-dialect as a 'simplified' version of NHG, since, apart from the major differences in distribution which have remained, the phonetic realizations of phonemes still vary considerably from those of their NHG counterparts.

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Tradition and Language in an Urban Community

J B Smith

When, a few years ago, I interviewed and recorded some of the old inhabitants of Middlesex Street, Stepney, which used to be called Petticoat Lane and is still popularly referred to by its old name,[1] it became evident to me that urban communities can be as cohesive, as idiosyncratic in custom and language and as conscious of their own traditions as the most isolated rural community. One old lady, then over eighty, unwittingly bore testimony to this when, with admirable brevity, she told the story of her life:

> "I can go back to 1897. That's when I first came round Commercial Street. I came from the Borough, — Maypole Alley in the Borough High Street. I emigrated over here.
>
> I lived in Portsmouth for thirty-two year till I buried me 'usband. I wouldn't have been there if he hadn't been a Portsmouth man. I had to go there. That's where his work was. If I hadn't 'a gone there I wouldn't have got no bread and margarine, would I? When my old man . . . turned his toes up I was left on me jack there. So I sold up and come back to me little village where I belong. They can't hurt you for that."

Old people everywhere are of course only too happy to reminisce, and a request for information about the Lane as it was fifty or more years ago provoked the following enthusiastic flood of impressions:

> "Years ago they used to do all the shopping with their aprons. Fish in the aprons! . . . Beautiful big smoked haddocks, eightpence a pound! Oh, bloaters, oh marvellous! And the muffin man! Watercress and winkles on a Sunday! And the 'ot potatoes at the top of Aldgate! And if you wanted a pint of milk you got it straight from the cow! . . . Oh, do you remember the man that used to stand at the corner of Goulston Street? —
>
> 'Don't go home without your comb!
> Comb your hair with the leg of a chair!' "

The cowsheds, which were a feature of Petticoat Lane until the 1920s, not only supplied the population with fresh milk, but also provided a remedy for a common complaint:

> "And my children had whooping cough, awful. And my mother used to say, 'Take 'em in the cowsheds, and then they'll inhale that air from the cows.' And my mother believed in it. The old-fashioned people did."

Singing-birds were sold in the Lane, and their were illicit methods of improving their performance:

> "Years ago they used to put what they used to call . . . the acky[2] on 'em. You know what they mean by 'acky'? — Blind a bird. And when they used to blind a bird the bird used to sing better. And they were such experts that you could never tell the bird was blind . . . Whenever I wanted to buy one the first thing to do was to put the hand across the cage. And that's the only way I could tell . . . It had its eyes wide open, but it couldn't see."

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1. *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, centenary edn., London, 1970, p.825.
2. According to Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of the Underworld*, 3rd edn., London, 1968, p.3, this word means "nitric acid", and is a corruption of "aqua fortis".

Local tradition has it that a royal personage, whether Edward VII or George V is not clear, took an interest in the singing-birds:

"The late King Edward, Queen Mary's 'usband [sic], . . . was a bird fancier. And he had a 'abit. — At twelve, past twelve, he used to come dahn, come up along Temple Bar, right up the Docks, through Leman Street, through Beagle (?) Street arch, go into a pub called the Champion, and they used to have all birds singin' in there. You know, all tied up in 'andkerchief . . .

Well, one night, just abaht ten to twelve — the pub used to open till two o'clock in the mornin' — a nice gentleman walked in, and he went over to the bar and he called for a pint. And he got in amongst the company, and he started talkin'. So one chap went up to the old boy; he said, 'Your 'ighness'. When he heard that, he said, 'How do you know me?' — He said, 'I recognised you".

He walked out of there, and he made his way towards the Docks. And the bloke there — he used to sell the potatoes on the corner of Leman Street . . . — he went over to this Italian bloke, and he asked him for a 'a'pennyworth of potatoes all 'ot. That was abaht half past two o'clock in the mornin'. So this here potato man pulled the old can aht, 'ot potato, squashed it, vinegar, salt, pepper, whatever he wanted, and he give it to him. And he give him a penny. 'Thank you, Your Majesty!' he says, 'Another one?' So he says, 'Look, how do you know me?' — He says, 'I've seen you out on many occasions, at shows. I've always been abaht.' 'Well, ' he says, 'from nah you stand here the rest of your life.' And he stood there. When he died nobody took his place."

More sinister tales are told, however, of how on nights of thick fog police were nailed to the wall in Commercial Street; of Peter the Painter and the "Siege of Sidney Street", and of Jack the Ripper, who was said to come from nearby Artillery Lane. Jack the Ripper in particular still lives on in the popular imagination:

"He used to only go for prostitutes . . . When we were children my mother was telling us he used to cut the prostitutes' heads off and put them on the mantlepiece. And he had the needle to the prostitutes."

But the Devil is a gentleman, and even Jack the Ripper was apparently not quite so black as he is usually painted:

"Abaht two o'clock in the mornin', or three o'clock, there was a woman took the baby to the 'ospital. She took him to the London 'ospital, the little boy. Comin' back, well, she couldn't afford to ride, and that time there was no conveyance and all that. Any'ah, she's walkin' home two, three o'clock in the mornin' with her poor little baby, on her own. So, as she's turnin' the turnin', a gentleman came over, with 'igh 'at, dressed up lovely, nice man. He says, 'What are you doin' aht so late at night, Mother?' So she didn't know what to say, She was very very afraid. — 'I'm askin' you a question. — What are you doin' aht so late with a baby?' She says, 'If you want to know, my husband's a seaman. He's away at sea. And the baby was taken queer. I took her [sic] to the 'ospital." He says, 'Where do you live?' So she told him she lived in Rothschild Buildings. He says, 'Look, don't be afraid of me. I'll take you up to the Buildin' and I'll see you indoors.' When he went away he gave her some money, and he says, 'I was Jack the Ripper!'"

Custom and language have been much influenced by the large Jewish population of the area. Even if only peripherally, gentiles took part in some of the Jewish festivals:

"And in the Jewish religion there used to be a holiday called Purim. Now in the religion — of course I'm Church of England — they used to have confetti, flour, and as children we used to go round and throw at people — you know, the confetti, not the flour. And when it was then Passover we used to eat the matzos."

Some of the slang words I listed have their origin in Hebrew or Yiddish, such as *caser* for a crown, or "dollar",[3] and *kye-bosh* for one-and-sixpence.[4]

One of the expressions for half-a-crown was *tosheroon*, a variant of *tusheroon*, which Partridge[5] explains as a corruption of lingua franca *madza caroon*, while another, *flatch yenork*, is back slang. Back slang was, and is, used mainly for counting, and the examples I collected hardly differ from those listed by Hotten[6] and Mayhew[7]. Mayhew[8] refers to back slang as "the language of costermongers", and according to his informants it was unintelligible to the Irish and scarcely understood at Billingsgate. By contrast, I was told that it was fishmongers' slang, and that it had originated at Billingsgate.

The best known variety of Cockney slang is of course rhyming slang. Most of the examples I collected, such as *Peckham Rye* for "tie", *Dickie Dirt* for "shirt", *Duke of Kent* for "rent" and *coal heaver* for "stiver", an obsolete word for a small coin, hence "penny", have been catalogued and explained by the authorities on the subject[9], but one example which was quoted to me, *Suzianna* for "tanner", i.e. "sixpence", seems to have escaped their attention. Partridge explains *susie* for "sixpence" as being perhaps derived from the name "Susie" by personification suggested by *bob*, a shilling, or, more probably, from dialectal *suse* for "six"[10]. A more satisfactory explanation would, however, seem to be that it is simply an abbreviated form of *Suzianna*.

To the provincial these various slangs will perhaps give the impression of being exotic plants only able to thrive in the hot-house of the metropolis. My last example is meant as a reminder that, phonologically at least, Cockney has, or had, much in common with other dialects of southern England.

In the following song, whose origin I have been unable to trace, the water-cress girl describes her wares as "creeses". This pronunciation was much used by Mayhew's informants[11], and similar forms with a close vowel are listed by the *Survey of English Dialects* for most of the southern counties[12].

She was gathering water-cresses
Down by the stream that runs through the dell.
She was gathering water-cresses,
Was my little water-cress girl.

I asked her if she was lonely;
She answered with a smile:
"Oh no, kind sir, I'm not lonely,
It is my daily toil.

I rise each morning early,
My creeses for to sell,
And I'm known as Martha,
Martha the water-cress girl."

3. John Camden Hotten, *The Slang Dictionary*, new edn., London, 1874, p.110
4. Partridge, op. cit., p.393
5. Eric Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, 5th edn., London, 1963, Vol. 1, p.918
6. op.cit., p.353 ff.
7. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, new imp., London, 1967, Vol. 1, p.23
8. ibid.
9. e.g. Partridge, op. cit., and Julian Franklyn, *Dictionary of Rhyming Slang*, London, 1960
10. *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, ed. cit., p.849.
11. op.cit., p.145 ff.
12. H. Orton and M. Wakelin eds., *Survey of English Dialects*, vol.4, part 2, Leeds, 1967, p.590 f.

In present-day Cockney pronunciation "girl" does not rhyme with "dell" or "sell", and "toil" does not rhyme with "smile"[13]. On the other hand, the southern counties east of Wiltshire and Dorset tend to pronounce "girl" with [ɛ] or [ɛə] [14], which would give a more or less accurate rhyme with "dell" and "sell", and Wyld tells us that "isle" and "oil", a similar pair to "smile" and "toil", contain the same diphthong "at the present time in Berks. and Oxfordshire" [15].

However, this does not necessarily mean that the song was composed outside of London, since the pairs of words under discussion may well have rhymed in nineteenth-century Cockney. Thus "girl" is frequently spelt "gal" by Mayhew[16], and this suggests a front vowel capable of providing at least a rough rhyme for "dell" and "sell". In Dickens, the metropolitan Sam Weller[17], like the provincial Mr Peggotty[18], pronounces "boil" as "bile". Similarly Mayhew, when he is representing contemporary Cockney speech, frequently spells words of the "toil" type with "i". Thus "boil" becomes "b'ile" or "bile", "joint" becomes "jint"[19], and so on, all of which suggests that "toil" may have provided an acceptable rhyme for "smile" in the London vernacular of his day.

This linguistic evidence does not help us solve the problem of the song's provenance beyond telling us that it is generally typical of southern English, but it does indicate that Cockney used to have numerous phonological features in common with the surrounding rural dialects.

Examples of such correspondences could be multiplied. Loss of [w] in "woman", the addition of [j] in "earn", [w] for orthographic "v" occur sporadically both in Mayhew and in present-day provincial southern dialects[20]. These dialects have showed themselves to be rather more conservative in this respect than Cockney. Nevertheless, one should not assume from this that Cockney has moved closer to the standard language than its rural counterparts. Indeed, the samples I have quoted above are as idiosyncratic as any of the present-day southern vernaculars I have come across. One might therefore be justified in assuming that a dialect's refusal to be influenced by the standard is less dependent on its isolation in the geographical sense than on its being spoken by a community possessing the cohesiveness and sense of tradition I referred to at the beginning of this article.

13. v. Eva Sivertsen, *Cockney Phonology*, Oslo, 1960.
14. Orton and Wakelin, op.cit., Part 3, Leeds, 1968, p.924 ff.
15. H. C. Wyld, *A Short History of English*, 3rd edn., London, 1957, p.197.
16. e.g. op.cit., Vol. 1, p.45 passim.
17. e.g. *The Pickwick Papers*, Chapter 22.
18. e.g. *David Copperfield*, Chapter 7.
19. e.g. op.cit., Vol. 2, p.225; vol. 1, p.163.
20. v. Martyn F. Wakelin, *English Dialects*, London, 1972, p.94 ff.

A description and preliminary discussion of the rhymed blason populaire tradition in England

John R Scott

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this brief introductory essay is to describe something of the English tradition of short, rhymed blason populaire. Also included are some comments on the problems involved in working with this particular genre and some suggestions for further research in this area.

The description of the genre includes discussions of:

1) some of the basic divisions of society which lead to this form of traditional communication;
2) some of the characteristics of particular groups which are isolated for derision; and
3) the forms of the rhymes, including the kinds of humour which give expression to these insults.

The final section will discuss a theory for the classification of this kind of material, the major aim of which is to arrange the rhymes for functional studies. In this discussion, the relationship of stereotypes to the genre will be examined.

There are several problems in a study of this kind for which answers cannot be provided except in the form of suggestions for future collection of similar material. Past works which have dealt with the classification of gnomic forms of folklore have been based on the internal elements of the rhymes, either by the nouns included or by the structure of the items themselves. Classifications of this sort are useful in defining genres, but they are ends in themselves rather than means to further study.

A more crippling problem, however, results from a method of collecting which does not include context with the items presented. In the case of gnomic forms, this is perhaps more understandable than with some other genres, because they seem to stand alone quite well when published. Their terse and pithy nature might give the impression that they have always stood alone and out of context, because they appear to be merely condensations of proverbial wisdom. There is, however, a great deal more to be learned from the gnomic forms, as may be seen for example in Tomas O Crohan's *The Islandman*.[1] In the latter, one can see the ways in which proverbs are used in the course of normal dialogue and the ways in which the proper use of the forms can bring a man status and can turn the argument in his favour.

There is another problem which arises from the lack of context in the collection of blason populaire. It is not possible from the rhymes themselves to tell how they were used. One wonders, for example, whether these insults were simply passed among the inhabitants of one town for their own amusement or whether they would actually use them in confrontations with people from the towns which were the butts of the jokes. If the latter is true, this form may actually have taken an active role in faction fights, and it may not be, as portrayed in the collections, a quaint way in which the differences between towns would be expressed.

[1] Tomas O Crohan, *The Islandman*, 1934

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LEGEND AND JOCULAR TALE IN A GERMAN COMMUNITY

by

JB Smith

In 1793 James Lackington reported how he had ridden out from Wellington in Somerset to inspect an immense heap of stones on top of a hill about two miles from the town. The country people informed him 'with great gravity' that the Devil had brought the stones there one night in his leather apron (1).

Implicit belief in what is told is an essential condition for the emergence of legend, though not necessarily for its perpetuation (2), and there can be few parts of industrialized Western Europe where surviving legends are recounted with the 'great gravity' of Lackington's countryfolk. Something approaching this attitude of mind is recorded by Siegfried Beyschlag and Otmar Werner in their account of oral tradition in Eastern Franconia (3). Here two of the informants, farmers in a village near Feuchtwangen, are remarkable for the seriousness and inner conviction with which they tell of witches, fiery men (Fairi Männli) and other supernatural visitations. Even here there is a subtle difference between the complete certainty with which the narrators tell of the things they claim to have experienced themselves and the slight reticence with which they approach matters of hearsay. Their disinclination to believe implicitly in what their forebears have told means that they are already emerging from the mythical way of thought, while the third informant, an innkeeper from the town of Feuchtwangen itself, has, according to the authors, already crossed the frontier into a more rationalistic view of the world (4). He, the town-dweller, is convinced of 'natural' causes for the 'mythical' events he tells of, and he narrates with appropriate terseness, reticence, and a touch of irony (5).

My own recordings of oral tradition in Mudau, a small town in the south-eastern Odenwald, have thematically much

in common with Beyschlag's and Werner's material, while the attitude of my narrators most resembles that of the town-dweller, the Feuchtwangen landlord.

My informants are all middle-aged or elderly. Although they are aware of the past and fond of reminiscing about it they do not indulge in nostalgia. They have to a large extent assimilated the social and economic changes resulting from war and reconstruction, and we are made to feel that the past was a completely different world, with which there are but tenuous links:

> Früher waren alle Jahr vier Jahrmärkte hier: an Fastnacht, und dann im August der Laurentiusmarkt, und der Kerwemarkt, und der Josefsmarkt im März. Und es ist alles nimmer. Und alle vierzehn Tage war Viehmarkt hier. Und da sind die Juden und die Bauern aus weitem Umkreis hergekommen... Der Viehmarkt war da berühmt. Da war auch ein Betrieb, o je! Früher sind Brezeln nur samstags gebacken worden, aber wenn Viehmarkt war, da haben die Bäcker alle miteinander Brezeln gebacken. Und da haben die Bauern meistens ihren Spazierstock dabei gehabt, und wenn sie heim sind, haben sie den vollgehängt mit Brezeln, und da sind sie so fortmarschiert. Und da hat im Sommer, grad' im August, Ernte sein können oder was, und wenn's Gewitter gegeben hat, da sind die Bauern auf den Viehmarkt gegangen - das ist ihnen alles egal gewesen. Das haben sie sich nicht nehmen lassen! (6)

The alleged waywardness, ignorance and superstition of the peasants of bygone days are a favourite theme, and many local characters have apocryphal tales attached to them (7):

> Da hüben war ein Mann gewohnt, ein alter. Ich hab' ihn nimmer gekannt, das sind bloß noch so Geschichten, wie man als gehört hat. Wenn der morgens zum Haus 'raus ist, und er hat eine Frau, also ein Weibsbild, gesehen, hat er geschimpft, und er ist wieder hineingegangen und ist den ganzen Tag nicht mehr

'rausgegangen. Er sagt, da hat er kein Glück, wenn er morgens als erstes eine Frau sieht. So waren die früher so.

How has this sense of change and of detachment from the past affected the store of legendary material one might expect to find in such a relatively isolated community? Let us consider popular legends (Sagen) first.

A local history of Mudau (8) recounts tales of buried treasure, hauntings, fiery men and the like. Little of all this survives as legend in oral tradition unaffected by written sources, however, and what does survive is no more than a residual form (Restform) (9) of what it must have once been. Thus the legend of the headless rider, which is told with much detail in the local history (10), has atrophied to the following scarcely remembered tradition:

Da hüben, da ist ein Mann auf einem Pferd gewesen, und der Mann hat keinen Kopf gehabt. So Sachen hat man uns früher beigebracht... Einen Reiter ohne Kopf hat man gesehen. Ich weiß auch nicht, ob das auf Wahrheit beruht.

A Jew called Eisig from Hainstadt near Buchen, who was condemned to death in Mudau for allegedly poisoning the wells but who committed suicide before he could be executed, was formerly supposed to haunt the town hall (11). In present-day tradition he has become a brigand:

Es war so ein Räubergesell da drüben im Rathaus. Uns kleinen Buben hat man gesagt: 'Wenn du nicht brav bist, kommst du zum Eisig hinauf.' Und so ist man als kleines Kind eingeschüchtert worden, sozusagen. Und das war auch so ein Räuber, und der hat da oben im Rathaus gehaust, als er tot war noch. Der war als Geist als gekommen noch.

Here we see fairly complex legendary material reduced to its simplest form and used merely to intimidate disobedient children. Such residual forms may exist alongside rudimentary forms (unentwickelte Vorformen) (12). The following may be an example of such latent legendary

material:

> Also für uns ist jetzt Beuchen (a neighbouring hamlet) auch aus dem Weg. Ich meine, so geschäftlich kommt man nicht hin. Und die Bauern von Beuchen - für uns als Kinder war das ein Schreck. Wenn wir mal nicht gefolgt haben, da hat der Vater gesagt: Du kommst nach Beuchen zum Kellerbauer! ... Das war für uns ein Schreck, der Kellerbauer von Beuchen.

Tales with which to affright the bairns are, however, not the only form which legendary material can assume. Superstitions, unexplained taboos, proverbial expressions (13) may be the last relics of what was once a considerable body of legend. Thus the belief that placing a broom the wrong way up attracts witches, or that whoever interferes with the property of others will return as a ghost or fiery spirit after death (14) are no doubt remnants of a complex lore relating to witches and other supernatural beings.

Another possibility is for legend to become jocular tale (Schwank) (15). In my material popular legends are not particularly common, as I have already indicated, and by far the largest body of oral tradition, apart from personal reminiscences, consists of jocular tales. If we examine these we find that some of them do in fact contain legendary themes.

Legends about fiery men and related spirits are endemic to the Odenwald and adjacent areas (16) and are also to be found in the local history of Mudau (17). The following jocular tale is clearly a transmogrification of such a legend. Significantly, the scepticism which has caused legend to become jest finds further expression in the narrator's rational explanation of the supernatural phenomenon:

> Da hat ein Mann nachts geträumt, er wär' arg hinters Buch (place-name) gelaufen, dort in dem Wald. Und da hat er so ein Faierle gesehen. Und wenn man so ein Faierle gesehen hat, da hat man was

drauf legen gemußt. Jetzt hat er aber nur einen Hut aufgehabt und ein Hemd an. Jetzt hat er halt auf das Faierle den Hut gelegt. Jetzt ist er wieder weitergelaufen, es kommt da wieder ein Faierle. Da hat er halt das Hemd ausgezogen und hat das darauf gelegt. Jetzt ist er wieder weitergelaufen. 'Hei, ihr Leut', es gibt da wieder ein Faierle! Was mach' ich denn jetzt?' Ist er hergegangen und hat einen Haufen drauf geschissen. Auf einmal: 'Du Sau, du alte!', und seine Frau hat ihn gestoßen. 'Jetzt hast du ins Bett geschissen!'

Früher war das so eine Sage... Das waren aber meistens Baumstücke. Im Mondlicht haben sie so einen Schein von sich gegeben - morsches Holz. Das leuchtet dann. Und da haben die so ein Märle draus gemacht. (18)

Popular legend, being obsolescent, is, however, no longer very productive of jocular tales. The tale of the Faierle recounted above is meaningless to an audience ignorant of the relevant lore. Religious legend (Legende), on the other hand, although it is as such no longer very common, is more meaningful in a Catholic community, and this explains the greater currency of jocular tales with a religious content.

The following is an aetiological legend purporting to explain the origin of the statue of the Virgin Mary erected on the market place of Mudau by the incumbent of the parish in 1736 (19):

Also, jeden Abend, wenn es Angelus geläutet hat, dann sind wir Kinder halt alle gesprungen davor, und dann ist da gebetet worden, und sonntags ist auch mal gesungen worden. Dann war es wohl wieder eingegangen. Aber das war in ganz frühen Zeiten - das war ein Gelübde. Da war einmal drei Tag' ein Gewitter überm Dorf gestanden. Drei Tage ist das Gewitter nicht gewichen. Dann haben die Leute es versprochen, daß sie also da eine Säule erbauen und daß sie dann jeden Tag beten wollen. Und da wär' das Gewitter dann also richtig verteilt. Und das

war also wirklich ein Gelübde.

The local history of the town tells in its chapter on legends how one winter a family from the nearby village of Waldauerbach brought a child by sledge to be christened in the church at Mudau. Amidst their laughter and singing on the way back they did not notice that the child had fallen out of the sledge into the snow. Miraculously, it was discovered unharmed, and the grateful parents erected a wayside shrine at the spot. Many years later the old man who had as a child been rescued in this way was often to be seen praying at the shrine (20).

In the version I have recorded the religious motif of the wayside shrine has been completely lost, and all that remains is the tale of parents careless enough to lose a newly christened child. The anecdote is meant to arouse laughter, but at the same time it is a further comment on the fecklessness of the peasants in the old days.

Here, then, religious legend, like popular legend, has become jocular tale, and this is not an isolated example of the secular encroaching on the sacred. Thus a pilgrimage furnishes material for the following:

> Da hat ein Bauer von Steinbach mal Wallfahrten gemacht nach Walldürn mit seiner Frau. Und früher haben noch die Frauen keinen Regenschirm gehabt, wenn sie auswärts gegangen sind. Wenn's geregnet hat, haben sie den Rock umgehängt. Das denkt mir noch. Und wie sie nach Walldürn hinein sind, hat es angefangen zu regnen. Und da hat die Frau den Rock umgehängt und hat den Unterrock mit hinaufgebracht. Und wie sie ein Stück durch Walldürn gelaufen sind, hat sie gesagt: 'Warum bleiben die Kinder alle stehen und gucken mir nach?' 'Ach', hat er gesagt, 'da hast du halt den Unterrock mit hinaufgebracht, das Hemd hängt dir doch hinten hinaus.' Da hat sie gesagt: 'Du alter Esel, du alter. Du hättest doch mir das gleich sagen können.' Hat er gesagt: 'Ich habe gemeint, du hast so versprochen, die Wallfahrt zu machen!"

The same tale is told of another place of pilgrimage, the Engelsberg near Miltenberg.

A third resort of pilgrims, Amorsbrunn, a well near Amorbach with the alleged power to cure infertility (21), is the subject of a further tale. The gist of this is that water brought from the well by a woman for her married daughter is accidentally drunk by her unmarried daughter, with disastrous consequences.

But the jocular tale is by no means dependent on legendary lore. Any cherished belief or attitude, any common human emotion can furnish it with material. There is a Mudau tradition, ambiguously perched between irony and pathos, of a girl who, condemned to service in nearby Hirschhorn, lyrically proclaims, 'O Muudi, du Rouschegaarde, o Herschhorn, du Dornhecke!' (22) Kurt Ranke compares a rather similar tale from Hessen to the story of Wolo of St Gallen, who, overcome with homesickness, climbs the monastery tower to get a better view of his nearby home, only to fall to his death (23). The survival of the jocular tale is guaranteed by its ability to produce variations on such universal themes.

Some idea of the versatility of the jocular tale and its ability to comment on modern problems can be gained from the following examples, both gleaned in Mudau:

> Ein Bauernbub, der hat Bauer werden sollen, und hat nit gewollt. Der Bauer hat einfach gesagt, 'Du muβt Bauer werden'. Und er hat ihn abends in den Stall geschickt zum Melken. Jetzt, wie er halt eine Weile drin war, hat der Bauer gedacht: 'Ich muβ doch einmal nachgucken, was der Kerl treibt.' Und da sieht er grad', wie der den Milcheimer der Kuh wieder vorne hinhält, damit sie säuft. 'Was machst du denn?' 'Ach', hat er gesagt, 'es war ein biβle Dreck hineingefallen. Jetzt will ich die Milch noch einmal durchlaufen lassen.' (24)

The son's treatment of the cow as if it were a piece of machinery may be taken as indicating his rejection of the traditional agricultural way of life and his

hankering for an occupation more in keeping with the technological era.

The next example uses the traditional theme of the confrontation with St Peter in the after-life to comment on local politics:

> Einst, in der Mudauer Gemeinde, ist der Bürgermeister, ein Gemeinderat und ein Arbeiter gestorben. Und sie sind hinauf zum Petrus gekommen. Und sie haben alle drei schnell hineingewollt. Und der Petrus sagt: 'Halt nun mal! Ich muß zuerst mal nachgucken, was ihr unten getrieben habt.' Jetzt ist der Arbeiter dran gekommen. 'Na', hat er gesagt, 'du bist ja oft in der Ecke herumgestanden und hast nicht gerade geschafft, was du schaffen gesollt hast. Na ja, du nimmst das Fahrrad und fährst fünfmal um den Himmel 'rum, dann kannst du hinein.' Jetzt ist der Gemeinderat dran gekommen. 'Ja, ihr auf dem Rathaus', hat er gesagt, 'ihr habt bloß für euer Säckle geschafft, und es war nicht immer recht, was ihr da getrieben habt. Du nimmst das Moped und fährst fünfzigmal um den Himmel 'rum. Dann kannst du auch hinein.' Dann ist der Bürgermeister dran gekommen. Jetzt guckt der Petrus und sagt, 'Wo ist denn der?' Da haben die anderen gesagt: 'Der ist hinunter und holt seinen Mercedes!' (25)

Some authorities (26) have seen the jocular tale as an atrophied form (Schwundstufe) of other popular genres, a symptom of disbelief, while Röhrich argues that wherever belief in the supernatural recedes the jocular tale takes over and new hybrid forms spring up: Schwankmärchen, Schwanksage, Schwanklegende (27). Scepticism and awe may, however, to some extent coexist, and have coexisted in the past, as is witnessed, say, by the occurrence side by side of serious and jocular tales about the Devil (28), and it would be wrong to see every present-day jocular tale as a purely negative phenomenon. At its best, as we have seen, it takes an established belief, an attitude or

emotion, which it irreverently explores in order to expose some human foible. It does not indulge in iconoclasm for its own sake.

Where the human element is lost we are left with the joke (Witz), which for its effect relies almost exclusively on the unexpected juxtaposition of incongruous elements, whether these be events or words (29). One example will suffice:

> Ein Mann ist spät in der Nacht heimgekommen, und seine Frau hat mit ihm geschimpft: 'Jetzt hast du haut' gebeichtet und kommst so spät heim!' 'Ja', hat er gesagt, 'ich habe zur Buße 'drai Lidanaie' aufgekriegt, und die hab' ich gleich getrunken!'

(In the Mudau dialect 'drai Lidanaie' could be interpreted either as 'drei Litaneien' or as 'drei Liter neuen (Wein)'.) (30)

The bringing together of sacred and profane, in a play upon words in this instance, is effected purely to cause ephemeral amusement and provides little or none of that insight into human nature which is a characteristic of the jocular tale.

NOTES

1. J. Lackington, Life of Lackington, 13th edn., London, 1793, p.327f., quoted in Kingsley Palmer, Oral Folk-tales of Wessex, Newton Abbot, 1973, p.110.
2. Max Lüthi, Märchen, 3rd edn., Stuttgart, 1968, p.9. Lutz Röhrich, Sage, 2nd edn., Stuttgart, 1971, p.3.
3. Siegfried Beyschlag & Otmar Werner, 'Ostfranken erzählen', Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung 21, Kallmünz-Opf., 1961, pp.197-223.
4. ibid. p.208.
5. ibid. p.209.
6. cf. the account in Theodor Humpert, Mudau: Wesen und Werden einer Odenwaldgemeinde, 2nd edn., Mudau, 1954, pp.113ff., 'Die Mudauer Märkte'.

7. cf. Humpert, op. cit., pp.240ff., 'Schwänke und Schnurren'.
8. Humpert, op. cit., pp.234ff., 'Sagen und Geschichten'.
9. Röhrich, op. cit., pp.8f.
10. Humpert, op. cit., pp.238f.
11. ibid., p.235.
12. Röhrich, op. cit., p.9.
13. ibid.
14. Humpert, op. cit., p.251.
15. Lüthi, op. cit., p.13.
16. cf. Brothers Grimm, Deutsche Sagen, 1816-18, Vol. 1, Nos. 276, 277, 283 (Goldmanns Gelbe Taschenbücher, Vol. 1792, pp.246ff.).
17. Humpert, op. cit., pp.234ff.
18. cf. Aarne & Thompson, The Types of the Folk-tale, 3rd edn., Helsinki, 1961, No. 1645 B.
19. Humpert, op. cit., pp.18ff.
20. ibid., p.238, 'Das Bildstöckle'.
21. cf. Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Vol. 1, Berlin & Leipzig, 1927, p.370.
22. Humpert, op.cit., p.224.
23. Kurt Ranke, 'Schwank und Witz als Schwundstufe', Festschrift für Will-Erich Peuckert, Berlin, 1955, p.54.
24. cf. Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 2nd edn., Copenhagen, 1955-58, Vol. 4, J 1903.2.
25. cf. Katharine M. Briggs, A Dictionary of British Folk-tales, London, 1970, Part A, Vol. 2, p.301, 'The three Premiers who went to Heaven'.
26. E.g. Ranke, loc. cit.; Lüthi, op. cit., p.13.
27. Lutz Röhrich, Märchen und Wirklichkeit, 2nd edn., Wiesbaden, 1964, p.57.
28. cf. Röhrich, Sage, pp.17ff.
29. cf. Erich Straßner, Schwank, Stuttgart, 1968, pp.13ff., 'Schwank und Witz'.
30. Other than here I have made no attempt to represent the phonology and morphology of the dialect. I have, however, kept to the original syntax and vocabulary as far as possible.

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A5.

Variation in oral tradition

J B Smith

Since the middle of the nineteenth century linguisticians have been at pains to point out that there is no qualitative difference between a dialect and a standard language[1]. However, while it is important to stress that a dialect is no less efficient than a standard language as a means of communication for those who use it, the very fact that it is restricted to a relatively small, relatively homogeneous social group whose interests are circumscribed means that its vocabulary and structures will be less wide-ranging than those of a standard language. Martin Walser has eloquently demonstrated this in an essay entitled "Bemerkungen uber unseren Dialekt[2], where he shows that political platitudes cannot be convincingly translated into his native Alemannic dialect, although this inability to cope with abstract concepts may be seen as a healthy intolerance for all that does not ring true.

While scope of communcation and receptivity to new ideas are practically unlimited in a standard language and restricted in a dialect, it may be observed that if we try to measure variation the reverse state of affairs obtains: standard languages admit of little or no variation in the realization of given items of grammar or lexis, but as we move down the social scale these items will vary more and more over the geographical area covered by the standard language until maximum variation is reached among the speakers of dialect[3].

If we now turn our attention to the cultural manifestations of standard language and dialect respectively we shall find that scope of communication and variation relate to each other in the same way. While a standard language has access to a vast range of themes and has a large repertoire of literary forms in which to clothe them, except in the wonder tale a dialect does not generally seek subject matter far beyond the confines of its own parish, whose worldly and otherworldly affairs assume the shape of religious legend, popular legend, jocular tale, proverb, riddle and a few other simple forms, or *einfache Formen* as André Jolles has called them[4]. But whereas the themes of the individual author or poet writing in the koine remain fixed and immutable for all time on the printed page, dialectal lore, subject though it is to limitations of theme and form, varies from place to place, never congealing in cold print through any intention of those who transmit it.

To some extent it is the limitations on the themes and forms available to popular culture and the universal validity of these themes and forms which account for the similarity of traditions at wide intervals of time and space and may appear to disprove the argument for variation. The riddle whose solution the Sphinx demanded of Oedipus recurs among the peasants of nineteenth-century Mecklenburg[5]. While English children address their tormentor "Sticks and stones may break my bones/But names will never hurt me . . ." their South German coevals sing "Schenne schenne dut net weh/Wer mich schennt hot Leis un Fleh . . ." English farmers say "A wet and windy May/Fills the barns with wheat and hay", while their German counterparts similarly predict "Mai kuhl und naß/Fullt dem Bauern Scheuer und Faß", and in both countries a mountain whose peak is wreathed in mist or cloud is said to be wearing a hat. — Compare "When Roseberry Topping puts on a hat/Let Cleveland then beware of that" with "Hat der Rauschberg einen Hut,/Wird's Wetter gut . . ."[7], with their identical imagery and opposite prognoses of imminent weather conditions!

Some of these parallel traditions may have arisen independently of each other, brought forth by similar conditions of life and similar mentalities at different points in space and time. Nevertheless the ability of the folk memory to transmit lore practically unchanged should not be underestimated. Famous motifs like the Pent Cuckoo occur throughout England[8], while tale types such as the Juniper Tree are found all over Europe[9], and here singularity of subject matter and similarity of form make arguments for polygenesis untenable. As for transmission

through time, Iona and Peter Opie provide us with a not untypical example when they show how the children's rhyme "Little fatty doctor, how's your wife?" has remained practically unchanged since the early nineteenth century[10].

What, then, in view of all these factors which make for uniformity, is the nature of variation in oral tradition? Iona and Peter Opie assert[11] that ". . . variations, even apparently creative ones, occur more by accident than by design. Usually they come about through mishearing or misunderstanding . . .". But this is not an entirely random process. The instinct of schoolchildren is to preserve, and for this their memories admirably equip them. They generally mishear or misunderstand only that which is unfamiliar to them in their immediate cultural and linguistic background. "Calico breeches", once they are out of date, become "comical breeches". "Elecampane" becomes "elegant pain". And the-". . . Grenadier/ Calling for a Pot of Beer . . ." in an early eighteenth-century rhyme has by 1950 become the more familiar "Mickey Mouse/In a public house/Drinking pints of beer . . ."[12]. Thus it is with popular culture as a whole. Where the culture of the educated preserves the exotic in the form of loanword, quotation, translation and thus constantly extends its frontiers, popular culture assimilates, absorbs and adapts all that does not fit in with the patterns of its own experience. "Glacé" cherries become "glassy" cherries, "All is not gold that glitters" becomes the less logical but rhythmically more satisfying "All that glitters is not gold"[13], the inn-name "The Bacchanals" turns into "The Bag o' Nails", and "The St Catherine's Wheel" becomes "The Cat and Wheel"[14]. Thus we see that successive generations, faithful preservers of tradition though they generally are, spontaneously interpret the unknown in terms of the known. They uninhibitedly adapt a prototype to an imagery suggested by their own culture, to rhythms suggested by their own speech. Much the same process may be observed in oral tradition across cultures. We are often amazed to discover similar traditions at widely separate points in space, but we are no less surprised to find how unselfconsciously these traditions have been shaped to fit the different environments in which they occur.

For instance, in the preamble to his *Evenings on a Farm near Dikan'ka*[15]Gogol mentions the tale of how a student who has been away from home to learn Latin, returns on a visit to his father's farm and pretends to have forgotten his native tongue. But when he steps on a rake and the handle strikes him on the forehead, he begins to curse most fluently in the vernacular. This is of course the tale type of the learned son and the forgotten language[16], and it recurs in a Sudeten German collection of tales[17]. But here the protagonist is a girl who has gone into service in the city and returns to her native village speaking only High German. When she steps on a rake and is struck on the head by the handle she expresses herself very forcefully in her native dialect.

In a collection of tales from western Lower Saxony[18] we find the dream of marking the treasure[19]. In this version a peasant, returning home a little worse for wear after a celebration, meets the Devil, who promises to show him a stone under which ten thousand marks are hidden. He may keep sixty thousand of these if he undertakes to divide the rest equally between the local poor and the hospital. After a hazardous journey the Devil and the peasant come to the stone, which the peasant decides to mark with his excrement, so that he will be able to find it again. Suddenly his wife gives him a buffet and tells him to attend to his needs in the proper place and not in bed. Now a similar tale occurs in the eastern Odenwald[20], but here, appropriately, it is the traditional belief in will o' the wisps, or "Faierli", which is parodied. A man sees three "Faierli" in the forest. Such mysterious lights, which play an important part in local lore[21], are thought to be dangerous, and whoever comes across one is supposed to place an object on it. The man puts his hat on the first and his shirt on the second. As he is now stark naked he defecates on the third, only to be wakened by his wife, who scolds him thoroughly for his ill-breeding. Both tales mock an ancient belief, that of the Devil as a guardian of treasure in the first instance, and that of the will o' the wisp who plays tricks on

travellers in the second. Thus we have here not only regional variations on a similar theme, but also an illustration of variation through time: the legendary lore of long ago is parodied by later, more sceptical generations.

An English anecdote[22] has it that the poet Joshua Sylvester attempted to engage Ben Jonson in an impromptu rhyming match and challenged him as follows: "I Joshua Sylvester/Lay with your sister". To this Jonson replied: "I, Ben Jonson, lay with your wife". When Sylvester objected that this did not rhyme, Jonson retorted: "No, but it's true". Surprisingly enough I came across the same anecdote in the eastern Odenwald[23]:

> A captain and his batman were once sitting alone in their rooms. They were bored. He said to his batman: "What shall we do? What shall we set about to make the time pass?" "Well, " said the lad, "let's make poems. You're so good at making poems". So the captain started:
>
> "Ich bin der Graf Silvester,
> Poussier mit deiner Schwester".
>
> The lad said: "It's not true, sir. You don't know my sister. You've never even seen her". Said the captain: "It doesn't need to be true; it only has to rhyme. Now you make one. Let's see if you're any good at it". So the lad said:
>
> "Ich bin der Bursche Hans,
> Poussier mit deiner Frau".
>
> "That doesn't rhyme a bit", said the captain. "No, but its true", said the lad.

The contest between the two poets — with its ironic implication that poetry cannot be equated with truth — becomes a battle of wits between officer and man, and here there is a certain amount of wry social comment, since it is the officer who is worsted, in more senses than one. It is also interesting that the German version gives more detail, proceeds at a more leisurely pace and is more explicit: it has taken on some of the characteristics of the jocular tale.

My next example of geographic variation is also an instance of variation through time, since it shows that the jocular tale is well able to adapt itself so as to comment on contemporary affairs. In an English north-country tale, "The Three Premiers who went to Heaven"[24], an Englishman, a Scotsman and a Welshman are stopped at Heaven's gate by the doorkeeper. Before they are allowed in they are obliged to expiate their sins by cantering round the garden, the Englishman once, the Scotsman five times. When the Welshman's turn comes he is found to have gone home to fetch his bicycle. In a version I heard recently in the eastern Odenwald[25] the protagonists are a council workman, a councillor and the mayor of the small town of Mudau. St Peter tells the workman to cycle round Heaven five times as a penance for not fulfilling his duties as he might have been expected to do, while the councillor must drive round fifty times on his moped, since his dealings in the town-hall have not been entirely above board. When it is the mayor's turn the others explain that he has gone home to fetch his Mercedes.

After these examples of jocular tales crossing frontiers and adapting themselves to new environments it will not surprise us to find that the joke, which is generally more succinct, and the product of a more mobile, literate and sophisticated stratum of society, can behave in a similar way, to the extent, of course, that it does not depend on an untranslatable play upon words. One example will suffice. Of Frau Raffke, the German type of the ill-educated social climber after the first World War, it used to be said that she didn't want to give her husband a book for Christmas since he already had one[26]. The same joke was recently told as follows[27]:

A young man was madly in love with a chorus girl and, as her birthday drew near, asked her what she would like as a present. She didn't know. "How about a book?" he suggested. "Oh no, thank you," she said, "I've got one".

So far we have spoken more of variation through space than of variation through time. Generally speaking, it might seem reasonable to assume that traditions will be preserved best in areas where cultural change is slow. Patrick Leigh Fermor provides us with a good example[28]. He tells us how, as late as the 1940's, the *Erotókritos*, a poem of nearly twelve thousand lines composed by the Cretan Vincentios Cornaros in the seventeenth century, would be recited in full through the dark winter nights by old men of the island who could neither read nor write. Here there was nothing if not continuity of culture. "Little in these crags and ravines had changed for centuries", says Fermor[29]. "One felt that each village must have existed since Minoan times". On the other hand one might assume that in areas such as industrialized Western Europe, where communications are well developed and cultural change is rapid, traditions will have wide currency, but alter from one generation to the next. This seems to be borne out by, say, the example of the shaggy dog story, which spread far and wide through the English-speaking world during the 1940's but already seems to have passed its heyday. Perhaps the same is true of tales of the macabre. But other forms and the habits of mind which invest them appear to be more permanent. Thus the legend, which draws on a preoccupation with if not a belief in the mysterious and otherworldly, still crops up, often where one expects it least. Admittedly the story[30] of the soldier who, spending a night in an ancient castle, fires at a ghostly white object which appears at the foot of his bed, only to find that he has shot his own foot, shows a tendency to demythologize the irrational. But one might argue that the tendency to remythologize is equally powerful. Another story[31] will demonstrate this. Two men spend a night in a haunted house. One dresses up as a ghost in order to scare the other. When his companion shows obvious signs of terror he doffs his disguise and explains the trick, only to be told, "It's not you I'm frightened of. It's what's standing behind you!"

Certainly secularization, the break-up of self-contained communities, urbanization, mobility, universal education and the mass media cannot fail to affect oral tradition. Some forms such as the wonder tale are obsolete, others, like the riddle, obsolescent. Legends tend to be explained rationally or to degenerate into jocular tales, as in the story of marking the treasure recounted above. And the jocular tale itself, which is often tied to particular localities and characters and requires time in the telling, is perhaps losing ground to the joke, which, being briefer and more sophisticated, is more suitable as a vehicle of communication between strangers in the fleeting encounters of modern pluralistic society[32]. For instance, in its modern version the jocular tale "Has Plummocks Legs?"[33] usually occurs, stripped of all local and personal detail, as a joke. A child asks an adult whether blackberries have legs. When it hears that they do not it exclaims: "Then I must have eaten a beetle!"[34]. It would, however, be begging the question to see the joke as the ultimate, atrophied form of all oral tradition. Such a pessimistic view would have much in common with obsolete theories as to the degeneration of language from an ideal state in past ages to a corrupt state in modern times, and with later theories that all dialect was on its last legs and any attempt to study it thus doomed to failure. — Just as dialectologists must carry out systematic surveys of urban language before theorizing about it, so folklorists must undertake thorough investigations of the matter of everyday discourse among all age-groups in urban communities. Only then will they be able to state definitively what is happening to oral tradition.

Notes

1 See John Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, Cambridge, 1963, pp. 34f.

2 Martin Walser, *Heimatkunde: Aufsätze und Reden*, Frankfurt, 1972, pp. 51-57.

3 Cf. Ida C Ward, *The Phonetics of English*, Cambridge, pp. 5ff.
Compare Ward's diagram representing variation with the diagram representing scope of communication in Hermann Bausinger, *Deutsch für Deutsche*, Frankfurt, 1972, p.35.

4 Andre Jolles, *Einfache Formen*, Halle, 1929.

5 Volker Schupp, ed., *Deutsches Rätselbuch*, Stuttgart, 1972, p.20

6 Peter Ruhmkorf, *Über das Volksvermögen*, Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1967, p.62

7 Hermann Bausinger, *Formen der 'Volkspoesie'*, Berlin, 1968, p.103
It is interesting that Bausinger here describes such sayings as *Wanderformeln*, 'migratory formulae'.

8 Katharine M Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-tales*, London, 1970, Part A, Vol 2, p.3.

9 Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, Helsinki, 1961, Type No.720

10 Iona and Peter Opie, *The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren*, Oxford, 1967, p.3.

11 Ibid., p.8.

12 Ibid., pp.8ff.

13 Cp. *The Oxford Dictionary of British Proverbs*, 3rd edn., Oxford, 1970, p.316.

14 Cp. *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, centenary edn., London, 1970, p.871.

15 N.V.Gogol, *Vechera na Khutore bliz Dikan'ki*, Kiev, 1954, p.5.

16 Aarne and Thompson, loc. cit., Type No.1628.

17 Ulrich Benzel, ed., *Sudetendeutsche Volkserzählungen*, Marburg, 1962, p.166.

18 Gottfried Henssen, ed., *Volkserzählungen aus dem westlichen Niedersachsen*, Munster, 1963, p.103.

19 Aarne and Thompson, loc. cit., Type No.1645B.

20 V J B Smith, "Legend and jocular tale in a German community",
New German Studies, Vol.3., No.2, p.56f.

21 V Peter Assion, *Weiße, Schwarze, Feurige*, Karlsruhe, 1972, passim.

22 Geoffrey Grigson, *The Guardian*, 12. 6. 75, p.9.

23 It was told to me in 1969 by Herr Henn, retired postal worker, Muduu.

24 K Briggs, op.cit., Part A, Vol 2, p.301.

25 V Smith, loc. cit., p.60.

26 V Hermann Bausinger, "Schwank und Witz" *Studium Generale*, Jahrgang 11, Heft 11, 1958, p.706.

27 "Frank Muir Goes into . . . Books", *Radio Times*, 23-28 August 1975, p.31.

28 Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Roumeli: Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1966, pp.135ff.

29 Ibid., p.128.

30 Quoted by Bausinger, loc. cit., p.700.

31 Told to me about 1960 by D P, Cardiff. Cp. "The Man in the Turnip Field", Ruth L Tongue, *Forgotten Folk-tales of the English Counties*, London, 1970, p.114.

32 Cp. Bausinger, loc.cit., pp.703ff.

33 Briggs, op. cit., Part A, Vol.2, p.114.

34 Cp. the version from *Punch* noted by Briggs ibid.

which was bestowed on Mr. Dr. Hussey on New Years Day £1.0.4." This became an annual gift, the sugar weighing 10lb. 10oz. on one occasion. "A pottle of claret wine 16d. and a pottle of sack 2s." were given to the judges in 1614. The Steward too got 1s. 8d. worth of wine as did the Bishop together with half a pound of sugar on one of his visits.

A fair was held in the winter "for watching at the winter fair 1603 3s. 4d." "4 barrels of beer spent at the fair 12s." There was also the Maiden Ale from which a small profit was made. "Received of the women gathered at Hocktide £1.3.0." Nearly every year there was a play. "Received of the players that had played in the Guildhall 6s. 6d." This rose by 1s. in 1597. More profitable were the races, the first mention of which occurs in 1600. Public dinners and suppers were held throughout the week bringing in over £80, though the profits when all expenses were paid were just about £2. Various wines, beer, beef, tongues, mutton, roasting pig, a capon, fresh fish, cockles, salt, oatmeal, apples, pears, oranges, lemons, rose water and sweet water were all purchased. The accounts furnish a valuable list of prices for these commodities. Apparently the losses were considerable and included on one occasion 2 stone jugs, one table napkin of fine canvas, one carved stone jug, a carpet, a pair of snuffers, 5 other table napkins with other small items all valued at £1.5.6.

The Blandford guidebook notes that King James lodged in the town in 1615 on his way to Corfe Castle. The only reference in the accounts that might be linked with this visit is an item "for the Kings officers as appeareth by their bill. £18.11.8."

This then is a picture of Blandford "a fair market town . . . well inhabited and of good traffique" as Gerard describes it, but unlucky in the number of times it was devastated by fire.

(spelling has usually been modernised)

M. B. WEINSTOCK

64. A REFLEX OF MIDDLE ENGLISH ICH. In 'Some Hardy Notes on Dorset Words and Customs', *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 21, No.1, Jan. 1974, p. 26, Douglas Wertheimer refers to a posthumous article by Philip Henry Gosse, published in March 1889, which contains a note by Thomas Hardy on the first sg. personal pronoun *ich* 'and kindred words . . . still used by old people in north-west Dorset and Somerset.' Hardy continues, 'I heard "Ich" only last Sunday, but it

is dying rapidly. I know nobody under seventy who speaks so, and those above it use the form only in their impulsive moments.'

In his *On Early English Pronunciation, Part V*, Early English Text Society, 1889, p. 84, A. J. Ellis describes the 'Land of Utch for I' as occupying 'the angular space between the two railways which have their vertex at Yeovil, Sm., on the b[order] of Do.' and lists about a dozen villages in this area which 'were named as using utch'. In *The English Dialect Dict., Vol. I*, Oxford, 1898, p. 552, Joseph Wright quotes F. T. Elworthy as having reported in 1897 that in the area close to Hamdon Hill, which is in Ellis's 'Land of Utch', *utch* still survived, though it was by then 'worn down to a mere faint *ch*'. In his *Somerset Life and Character*, London, 1924, W. G. W. Watson has a chapter entitled 'The Mer't Man', pp. 98-106, on Merriott, a village on the western edges of Ellis's 'Land of Utch'. Watson claims that the inhabitants of Merriott differ from the people of the surrounding villages in appearance, customs and, not least, in speech. Here one of the main distinguishing features is, he asserts, the use of *uch*, of which two or three examples are given. 'It is questionable whether the ancient word "ich" or "uch" can be heard in any other part of England today', he says, p. 104, and continues: 'I am afraid it has nearly disappeared from Merriott by this time.' Nevertheless, according to Martyn F. Wakelin in *English Dialects, An Introduction*, London, 1972, pp. 112 and 164, *uch* was recorded in 1952 during a pilot survey for the *Survey of English Dialects*, though only at Merriott, where it occurred two or three times on tape in conversation with a farmer only in his forties.' Wakelin suggests, p. 112, that Merriott *us* (H. Orton et al. *Survey of English Dialects*, Leeds, 1962-71, VIII. 9. 5b) 'may also be a reduced form of *uch*, and not the 1st pl. personal pronoun.'

The hypothesis that this *us* is derived from *uch* is supported by the turn of phrase used by a Merriott lady, aged 89 when recorded by me in 1967, who would say when reproved by neighbours for alleged laxity of speech: 'Us don't care how you zay it.' This informant, E. B., who was born at Crewkerne, two miles south of Merriott, presumably beyond the borders of Ellis's 'Land of Utch', but had spent all her married life at Merriott, was full of reminiscences about *'uch'm* and *him'*, forms used for *I am* and *he* respectively. Thus her late husband, a Merriott man, would say, 'Bess, uch'm gwain down zo var'z the

ground, an' if thee hasn't a mind to come thee ca'st bide 'ome', and so on.

A colleague of E. B.'s in the old people's home where they were living was also quite familiar with *uch* and its variants *us* and *uchy*, as in 'Us cussed her aaver. Don't her think her's gwain to play be I', which was glossed as 'I swore at her. She needn't think she's going to get the better of me', and in the following 'limerick':

> There was a wol hawker to Merrott [Merriott],
> Zaid, "Today uchy hawk round Perrott.
> In me cart uchy zit
> An' hold vaas to me whip
> An' holler out 'Tiddies an' inins
> [potatoes and onions]! ' "

The same informant summed up the present situation as follows: 'Never hear nobody say *uch*. They wouldn't know what it was, the children . . . [The old people] know what it is, but they never hardly say it.' Or, as E. B., now alas deceased, put it in more general terms: 'Lot o' people do'n understand you. You got to tell 'em twice, you see, what you mean, do'n ee? But they be interested in you, to know what you be zayin' o'.'

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65. AGRICULTURE OF DORSET 1665. Shortly after its foundation in 1662 the Royal Society, through its Georgical Committee, instituted enquiries throughout the country into the agricultural practices and methods of each county. Few replies to these enquiries have survived, but the very informative report made to the Society by Robert Seymer of Hanford, near Blandford Forum, on the husbandry of the north-east part of Dorset, 'the hilly part bordering upon Wiltshire and the vale betwixt Shaston and Blandford bounded with the river Stour', remains among the archives of the Royal Society. (Royal Society, Classified MSS 1660-1740, 10/3/10). Robert Seymer divided his area into two quite separate parts, the fertile claylands in the vale and the chalk downlands. On the clay the main crops were bald wheat, barley and peas. The wheat was sown between Michaelmas and Allhallows at about two bushells to the acre. After sowing, 'one or two men follow with Spades or Devonshire shovells to dresse the Land (as they terme itt), that is to slit the great clods, to cover naked corne, to fill holes and balkes, and to shovell the Furrowes that the water in the winter time may not stand

there to the annoyance of the Corne'. Barley was sown at about three bushells to the acre in April. 'After sowing (if their Land be very cloddy) they beat it with Clodbatters or Beetles . . . (or) . . . they work it over with an heavy roller drawne by two or three horses, to close the earth to the Corne, and to plaine the ground for the better Rakeing of it at Harvest.' Peas were sown about the beginning of March at two bushells to the acre.

On the chalk, where the soil was much less fertile, the main crops were Red wheat, which was a stronger and less demanding variety than the bald, barley, oats, peas and vetches. Red wheat was grown after a summer fallow, and was sown as early as the beginning of August, 'They account the earliest sowing the best for their land, that the Corne may take good rooting before the hard winter approaches.' Barley followed the wheat after a winter fallow, but, on the chalk, the rate of sowing was four bushels to the acre. Oats followed barley and was sown about the end of February at four bushels to the acre. Alternatively peas or vetches were sown about the beginning of March, 'these grains they affirme to be rather improvers than impoverishers of their Land.' Unfortunately, Seymer does not report on the yields to be expected from these various crops. He gives much detail, however, about the trouble which the better farmers went to in order to get the best seed. 'They make choyce of the best and cleanest, and of that for the most part which was growne in a poorer soyle, and at least different from the nature of that ground where they intend to sow it'. Many used various seed dressings, mainly lime, and some went to the trouble of 'picking their wheat before threshing to cull out the starveling, wilde and burnt eares'. Many also 'make use of an Engine (called a Mill) made with small wires which are placed so neere together that the Corne cannot run thorow them unlesse small and dwinling; thorow this Instrument they cast their seed, which separates the good from the bad . . . '

The report says little about livestock, but it does emphasise the crucial importance of the sheep-fold in the sheep and corn husbandry of Dorset at this time, particularly on the chalkland where the sheep were essential for manuring the cornland. ' . . . the chiefest helpe that the hill Country hath for their Corne ground is their great Flocks of Sheep which they constantly fold upon their Land.' The chalkland also required regular summer fallowing, and Seymer reported that 'they rest their Land every

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SOME NOTES ON THE RIDDLE

by J.B.SMITH

In The Folklore of Cornwall(1), the authors, Tony Deane and Tony Shaw, quote the following gruesome-sounding verse which they collected from a Gorran schoolboy in 1965:

"I met a fellow clothed in yellow
Upon a cloudy day;
I picked him up and sucked his blood,
Then threw his skin away".

This is in fact a riddle and the answer is "an orange". Although this particular example cannot be older than the first imports of oranges to these climes, the riddle as a form is very ancient. In Chapter 14 of the Book of Judges, for instance, Samson comes across the carcass of a lion in which bees have swarmed and deposited honey. Mindful of this experience, at his ensuing wedding feast he challenges the thirty young Philistines who are his guests to answer the following riddle:

"Out of the eater came something to eat;
Out of the strong came something sweet".

If the Philistines guess the answer they are to have thirty lengths of linen and thirty changes of clothing, while if they are unsuccessful Samson is to have the same from them. The Philistines find out the solution by unfair means, whereupon Samson slays thirty of their compatriots so that he may pay off his debt with the booty(2).

Again, in Greek mythology the Sphinx asks the young men of Thebes on pain of death: "What is it that walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, on three in the evening". None can answer, until Oedipus hits on the correct solution: "Man, who as an infant crawls on all fours, and in old age walks leaning on a stick"(3), whereupon the Sphinx flings herself to her death from the walls of the citadel.

It is plain, then, that great importance was attached to riddles in ancient times. From the story of Samson it appears that riddling played an important part at certain social gatherings and that severe reprisals could be taken if the rules were infringed. In the story of Oedipus everything hinges on the riddle; whether it is answered or not the result is tragedy - the downfall of the house of Oedipus on the one hand, the sacrifice of the flower of Theban youth on the other, Nor do we have to look far for more examples: Homer's death was reputedly in some way linked with a riddle he could not solve(4), and in Macbeth the hero meets his doom when the oracles elicited from the apparitions conjured up by the three witches resolve themselves, riddle-like, in an unexpect-ed juxtaposition of events(5).

It is interesting that many demonstrably ancient riddles have been handed down to the present day. Thus Iona and Peter Opie(6) collected a version of the Sphinx's riddle from a fifteen-year-old Kirkaldy girl:

"Walks on four feet
On two feet, on three;
The more feet it walks on,
The weaker it be".

But whereas in antiquity the riddle was charged with significance, in our modern world it is regarded as suitable for the entertainment of children, and little else besides. Indeed it is doubtful whether it is still a productive part even of children's lore. From my own childhood, at least, I can remember only one orally transmitted rhyming riddle, the solution of which is "a cherry":

"Come riddle, come riddle, come rote, tote, tote,
A wee, wee man in a red, red coat;
A staff in his hand and a stane in his throat,
Come riddle, come riddle, come rote, tote, tote"(7).

The decline of the riddle proper is well illustrated by the fact that we knew only the first three lines of the Opies' riddle for a sheep(8):

"Round the rocks
And round the rocks
The ragged rascal ran,
And every bush he came to,
He left his rags and ran",

and used these as a tongue-twister.

On the whole we preferred conundrums of the type "Why did the garden fence? - Because it saw the pillar-box"; or catch riddles like "Where was Moses when the light went out? - In the dark"; or punning riddles such as "What did the postage stamp say? - 'By gum, I'm stuck'".

While adults are not entirely innocent of such chestnuts when in the company of children, for their own amusement they generally prefer something more sophisticated. In a radio programme I did once hear "What has one wheel and flies? - A wheelbarrow full of manure". But on the whole in adult exchanges the accent is on speed and spontaneity, and consequently such forms as the straight pun and the Wellerism will be preferred(9). Thus the last example might be adapted as follows:

"Time flies- I can't, I haven't a stop-watch"(pun),

or "Time flies, as the time-and-motion man said to the entomologist"(Wellerism).

All these forms - conundrums, catch riddles, punning riddles, puns and Wellerisms - are verbal and, in varying degrees admittedly, intellectual. They depend on a play upon words and a rapid association of ideas. On the other hand the riddle proper attaches little importance to time: Samson's opponents are for instance given seven days to answer the riddle they have been set. For the riddle proper depends on a close observation of and sympathy with the natural world and a sense of wonder at it, and requires not lightning reactions but a faculty for contemplation. It is visual rather than verbal, imaginative rather than intellectual. In describing one thing in terms of another it reveals the magical links between those things. The shock of recognition we experience when we realise that

There's a thing behind the door
The more you feed it, the more 'twill roar"

refers to a grindstone, or that "a bottomless vessel/To put flesh and blood in" is a ring(10), is quite different from the intellectual shock we get on hearing a good pun - although a pun can frequently transcend the merely intellectual, as many an example from James Joyce will testify. Of course the effect of the riddle is enhanced where it expresses itself in verse, and especially where incantory formulae are used. "I saw a nut cracker up in a tree" is a surprising though not particularly memorable way of referring to a squirrel, whereas

"Riddle me, riddle me,
riddle me ree,
I saw a nut cracker
up in a tree"(11)

breaks the links with everyday reality.

Thus the traditional riddle observes the natural world, not analytically as the scientist does, but with the eyes of the magus, who perceives the hidden connection between disparate objects and expresses that connection in an image, frequently reinforced by incantatory formulae, which seems momentarily to fuse those objects. Thus the riddle is related to simile and metaphor(12), which also surprises us by revealing the links between apparently dissimilar things, and it is no mere accident that Anglo-Saxon poetry, with its "metaphoric density to which no modern translation can do justice"(13), also excels in the riddle.

Admittedly our modern language still uses simile and metaphor and will continue to do so until George Orwell's Newspeak is upon us. We speak of

someone being a live-wire, of two persons being on the same wave-length, and of waiting to see which way the cookie crumbles; but there seems to me to be a difference of intensity between such recently coined expressions - and this is by no means an argument for their abandonment - and expressions characteristic of the prior culture such as "Pride must abide", "The quaking spoke is the last to go", "to cut smoke with a leather hatchet", or even the more mundane "as busy as a cat in a tripe-shop"(14).

In view of this changing climate of the language, it is not surprising that we have lost interest in the riddle. But of course there are more tangible, social reasons for its disappearance. As a social activity suited to small and intimate groups of people with time on their hands, or engaged on some intellectually undemanding task, riddling in its traditional, oral form is unsuited to the fast-moving impersonal atmosphere of our cities. Here, if anything, the visual medium reigns supreme, and in rapid and silent succession the most diverse messages will impinge on the consciousness of the solitary car-driver or tube-traveller. Some of these messages will admittedly be advertisements in the form of punning riddles with pictorial solutions:

THE TASTE THAT GROWS (Guinness)
THE WAY TO TREAT YOUR FRIENDS (Beefeater Gin)
A BREAK WITH TRADITION (Kit Kat),

but, amusing and stimulating as these are, they do not extend and diversify "our understanding of...the ruminous natural world, of whose life, or even existence, modern men are becoming progressively more unaware"(15).

In view of this apparent obsolescence of the traditional riddle in England, it is, I think, rather interesting that when I was working on a farm in North Staffordshire in the summer of 1953 three obviously genuine examples were told to me quite spontaneously by a farm-worker in his early twenties(16). The first went like this:

"Slippy, sloppy, greasy,
When it's in it's easy;
When it's out it flops about,
Slippy, sloppy, greasy".

Although the solution here is "a fish", a similar type of formula is very common for any object, such as a cabbage, a piece of bread, or even a dish-cloth, which changes its shape when it is immersed in water(17). And just as our ancestors must have been fascinated by the way certain objects changed as soon as they came into contact with liquid, so they must have been filled with wonder at "the notion of something that is visible or very abundant and yet cannot be seized"(18). Thus Aldhelm said of the wind, "Cernere me nulli posunt nec prendere palmis" and - a parody of the same topos - the inhabitants of Hornblotton in the county of Somerset were reputed to put their hands out of the window in the morning to see if it was light(19). For my informant the same notion expressed itself as follows:

"House full, parlour full,
Can't catch a cupful"(20).

The answer is "smoke".

My last example, to which the solution is "a cow", is widespread throughout Europe and can be traced back as far as the Edda(21). It runs:

"Two hookers,
Two lookers,
Four ding-dongs
And a fly-swat"(22).

Here the expression "ding-dongs" for the cow's teats may have been suggested by similarities between the activities of bell-ringing and milking, or it may be cognate with the dialectal ding-dangles, which means "hanging beads or other finery"(23), and is presumably derived from the verb to dangle. Other versions of the riddle refer to the cow's teats as dillydanders or danders, whilst others again use a reduplicating form to describe the tail. Thus for the more usual switchabout we find wig-wag, wig-wam, flip-flap and zum-zum. Our version is, however, unusual in referring to the tail as a fly-swat, although a similar expression ("Fleugenwädeli") does occur in a Swiss version(25).

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3. Harvey, Sir P., Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, 1940, p.405.
4. See "Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi", in: Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi, ed. U.non Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Berlin, 1929, pp.36 and 44ff.
5. Macbeth, IV.i. and V.iv and viii.
6. Opie, I. and P., Lore and Language of Schoolchildren, Oxford, 1959, p.76.
7. Told me by Mrs. J.L., born Paisley, Renfrewshire, in the 1880s. Cf. Archer Taylor, English Riddles from Oral Tradition, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, p.231.
8. Opie, p.77.
9. Cf. Opie, p.81.
10. Opie, p.77.
11. Opie, ibid.
12. Cf. Milner, G.B., "Riddle my Riddle", in: New Society, vol.34, No.690, of 25 Dec. 1975, pp.684-6.
13. Alexander, M., The Earliest English Poems, Penguin Classics, 1966, p.21.
14. Examples from Evans, G.E., Ask the Fellows who Cut the Hay, London, 1966, p.230; and Brook, G.L., English Dialects, 2nd ed., 1965, p.87.
15. Alexander, p.92.
16. D.N., from Whiston, N.Staffs.
17. Cf. Taylor, pp.600ff.
18. Taylor, p.602.
19. Read, J., Cluster-o'-Vive, London, 1923, p.27.
20. Cf. Taylor, pp.663ff.
21. Volker Schupp, Deutsches Rätselbuch, Stuttgart, 1972, p.310.
22. Cf. Taylor, pp.610ff.
23. Wright, J., English Dialect Dictionary, vol.2, Oxford, 1900, p.79.
24. Taylor, p.619.
25. Schupp, p.8.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE RIDDLE

J.B.SMITH

As I was coming over Bathampton Down near Bath on one of the many hot days in the summer of 1976 I was waylaid by two children I had never met before.Full of high spirits,they insisted on plying me with one riddle after another,hardly giving me the opportunity to stammer out my answers,which in any case were highly inept!

What did one telephone say to the other?-You're too young to be engaged.

Why didn't the skellington(sic)jump over the cliff?-Because he hadn't the guts.

What would you do if you were dying?-Go into the living room.

Conundrums such as these differ in many ways from the earliest recorded English riddles,in which the riddler looks at familiar objects in an unfamiliar light,enhancing the sense of wonder by expressing himself in verse.Thus a riddle on the sun and moon begins:

A curious and wonderful creature I saw,
- Bright air-grail,brave artefact -
Homing from a raid with its haul of silver
Brimming precarious crescent horns[1].

Such riddles have aesthetic appeal and an almost magical import, but in some of them,in which the author slyly sets out to mislead his audience,the playful element is unmistakable.It is this playfulness which is often the main feature of the traditional riddle of more recent times.The Dorsetshire poet William Barnes(1801-86) gives us a good example in a poem[2] in which a boy,Joey,asks a girl, Anne,a series of riddles culminating in the following:

Oone evenen two-lags zot wi' pride
On dree-lags,up at vow'r-lags' zide;
Then zix-lags gi'd vow'r-lags a prick,
An' vow'r-lags gi'd two-lags a kick,
An' two an' dree-lags vell,all vive,
Slap down,zome dead an' zome alive.

The solution is as follows: A milkmaid sits on her three-legged stool,milking.The cow is stung by a gadfly and kicks over both milkmaid and stool.Here the poet,who invariably paints a faithful picture of contemporary rural life in Dorset,gives us an authentic folk-riddle which is doubly interesting because he has placed it in its social context.Anne is in fact milking while Joey thus assails her with riddles,and she finishes up by boxing his ears for sheer exasperation.Nevertheless one cannot escape the impression that the whole encounter has brought the two closer together in more than the literal sense,and one is reminded of a German traditional riddling poem[4] in which the riddler expresses his intent more explicitly:"Oh maiden I will ask you a riddle,and if you guess it I will marry you..."This no doubt harks back to a time when riddling played an important part in the courtship and marriage rituals of some communities.Far from constituting merely a pleasant pastime or a display of artistry,such riddles may have performed an important social,and ultimately economic,function.H.M.Chadwick and N.K.Chadwick have for instance suggested that the Russian zagadki"were used in the past as 'intelligence tests'or 'education tests'in the 'oral examination'which appears to have formed a part of the general examination usually held as part of the proceedings connected with peasant weddings" [5].

The same authors suspect"that in communities which have no writing riddles must play a not unimportant part in the education of the young",but have found little positive evidence for this[6]. Perhaps we do not have to look far to find such evidence.Does not the nursery riddle educate the very young while seeking to amuse them?And it may also be that the riddle or something akin to it played a part in the training of apprentices for certain crafts,if an example given me by a Dorset thatcher is anything to go by.He said that the master thatcher used to have a boy whose job it was to fetch and carry and water the reed.This boy might expect to receive some of his instructions back to front,and if he got them

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wrong he was chastised:

"Reeds, spars and cider - what I call for last, bring me first" -
And that was cider. And the boy brought reed. Then he had the stick.

By its very nature the riddle is a test, and a test can have diverse functions. In a Somerset version of the widespread tale "Mr. Fox's Courtship"[7] a girl is wooed by an attractive but rather mysterious red-headed suitor called Mr. Fox. Arriving early for a rendezvous in a lonely place, she climbs a tree for safety. Soon afterwards Mr. Fox and an accomplice appear and begin to dig a grave, which is obviously meant for the girl. She remains hidden in the tree, and eventually the two villains depart, having waited in vain for their intended victim. The next time Mr. Fox comes courting, the girl asks him a riddle:

Last Zaturday night as I zat high,
Awaiting vor one, but tew come by,
Tree it did bend, my zoul it did quake
Vor to zee the hole they two did make.

Realising that his evil intentions have been discovered Mr. Fox escapes through the window, but is overtaken by the hunt.

Here the innocent overcomes the guilty party by means of a riddle. As often as not in folk literature, however, some malevolent being uses the riddle or hard question to demonstrate his power over the hapless hero or heroine, but is worsted when the latter unexpectedly provides the right answer or succeeds in having the last word. This pattern is common to such diverse traditions as the story of the Sphinx, the tale of Rumpelstiltskin and Child's ballad "The Fause Knicht upon the Road", in which the small boy succeeds in confounding an opponent who is very reminiscent of the Devil. Perhaps a riddle of which one version, dated 1733, is to be found in Bath Municipal Library, but which has now been traced back as far as the early 17th century[8], is the nucleus of a similar tale[9]:

A man in the wilderness asked me,
How many strawberries grow in the sea.
I answered him, as I thought good,
As many as red herrings grow in the wood[10].

R.D. Blackmore must have been familiar with the theme, for in Lorna Doone the wizard after whom Wizard's Slough is named, having lured the pilgrim to his palace, asks him a question which sounds suspiciously like a parody of the traditional riddle:

"Where can you find a man and wife, one going up-hill, and one going down, and not a word spoken between them?" - "In a cucumber plant", said the modest saint; blushing even to think of it, and the wizard knew he was done for[11].

One of the stories about Tarr Steps on Exmoor, which were thought to have been built by the Devil in a single night, contains a related motif. The local priest, seeking to cross the bridge, enters a dispute with the Devil, which he presumably wins by having the last word:

"You old black crow", yells Devil.

"If I be a crow", says Parson, "I bain't so black as yew"[12].

The Devil also plays a part in a piece of rustic wit which used to be current aming children in Somerset and Devon:

What'll ee take? A hursty rake (=rancid bacon), a zin burnd cake (=a dried cow-clat), or a blackbird under the hill (=the Devil)[13].

This catch question is now widespread, and generally runs: "Tell me, which would you rather do: Run a mile, jump a stile, or eat a pancake in a field?"

Two things strike us here. First of all the modern version is no longer couched in the broad dialect of its predecessor. Secondly it has been demythologised, and there is no longer any reference to the Devil.

This, together with the examples I quoted at the beginning, reminds us that the riddle, where we still find it in oral tradition today, preserves some of its traditional functions as a means of making contact or of testing or challenging an opponent, but that its currency has waned and its form and content have changed. Today it

will seldom be found outside nursery and playground, and even here it will have adapted itself to its modern environment. Take for instance two "traditional" riddles for the telephone:

Two frawg in a double pond, an' all speakin' t'rough his laig
(Sea Islands, South Carolina)

and

Miles and miles and know your voice
But cannot see your face (Nova Scotia)[15].

The first sees the telephone in terms of the natural world, the second is concerned with its function of bringing into contact people who are separated by great distances. Both betray naive astonishment at this strange invention. But the children I mentioned at the beginning, who asked "What did one telephone say to the other?", were too sophisticated for that. They were fascinated not by the telephone as such, but by the inherent ambiguity of language and the fact that this gave them licence to explore an aspect of the adult world in answering, "You're too young to be engaged". In a similar way the punnery of their other two riddles gave them access to the taboo subject of death.

No matter how the riddle and its variants have changed, the basic strategy remains the same. By demonstrating tersely and suddenly the ambiguous nature of the world as we perceive and describe it, they provide us with new insights and allow us to explore new facets of things. It is therefore regrettable that a form, which was once an accepted vehicle of wisdom, has now been largely relegated to the kindergarten[16] - That it can still be infused with new life as a serious literary form is demonstrated by Thomas Hardy in a poem which seems to me to share many of the attributes of the traditional riddle:

Paying Calls

I went by footpath and by stile
Beyond where bustle ends,
Strayed here a mile and there a mile
And called upon some friends.

On certain ones I had not seen
For years past did I call
And then on others who had been
The oldest friends of all.

It was the time of midsummer
When they had used to roam;
But now, though tempting was the air,
I found them all at home.

I spoke to one and other of them
By mound and stone and tree
Of things we had done ere days were dim
But they spoke not to me[17].

Only at the end do we realise with a shock of recognition that Hardy is communing with the dead - He is describing one of the many calls he paid to Stinsford churchyard, where he would meditate by the graves of friends who had long since passed away[18]

Notes

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3. Cf. Taylor, A., English Riddles from Oral Tradition, 1951, p.164, no. 462. Note that gadfly appears to be unique to Barnes' version.

4. L. Achim v. Arnim und Clemens Brentano, Des Knaben Wunderhorn (Leipzig, n.d., following 1st ed., Heidelberg, 1806-8), "Rathsel um Rathsel", pp.583-585.

5. Chadwick, H.M. and N.K., Growth of Literature, vol.2, 1936, p.214.

6. Ibid., vol.3, 1940, p.836.

7. Briggs, K.M., Dictionary of British Folk-Tales, 1970, Part A, vol.2, pp.448-50.

8. Rogers, T.D., "'How Many Strebeares Gro on the Se?'", Notes and Queries, New Series, vol.23, no.12, Dec.1976, pp.540-1.

9. Briggs, op.cit., Part A, vol.1, pp.403-4, in fact gives such a tale, but feels that it was built round the rhyme, rather than having originated from it.

10. Opie, I. and P., Oxford Book of Nursery Rhymes, 1951, p.284.

11. Blackmore, R.D., Lorna Doone, chapter 58.

12. Briggs, op.cit., Part B, vol.1, pp.60-61, "The Curious Cat".

13. Elworthy, F.T., West Somerset Word-Book, 1888, p.638. The Devonshire version, which is similar except that the Devil is referred to as "a Black-bird 'n the bush", is quoted in Transactions of the Devonshire Association, vol.46, 1914, p.508.

14. Opie, I. and P., Lore and Language of Schoolchildren, 1959, p.67.

15. Taylor, op.cit., Nos.471 and 1685, pp.166 and 673 respectively.

16. Cf. Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, Celtic Heritage, 1961, p.350.

17. Hardy, T., Complete Poems (Macmillan) 1976, pp.506-7.

18. O'Sullivan, T. Thomas Hardy: an Illustrated Biography, 1975, p.58.

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LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN SOME DIALECTS OF WESSEX

by J. B. SMITH

A recent analysis of population patterns in an English country parish of 2000 acres showed that in 1851 virtually everyone who lived there worked there, and that much the same was still true in the 1920's and 1930's. The nucleus of such a community would be the agricultural workers, of whom there would be about eighty. Today, however, a similar acreage would provide employment for only a quarter of that number, and thus, if it were not for newcomers arriving to live in the countryside, the villages would be depopulated.[1]

In the light of evidence such as this it is not surprising that when, roughly twenty years ago, fieldwork on the south-western counties of England was carried out for the Survey of English Dialects, many an elderly informant could still be found who had spent his whole life as an agricultural worker within the confines of his native parish and thus spoke a dialect relatively free from outside influences. Today on the other hand the would-be field-worker scouring the rural villages of the south-west will in many places be hard put to find dialect speakers who fulfil the specifications of the Survey of English Dialects.[2] If he is successful he will no doubt discover not merely that the subtle influences of the mass media have been at work, but that his informants have actively changed their speech habits to facilitate communication with the younger members of their families who have been away and with the commuters and retired people from other parts of the country who make up a large part of most rural communities in the south-west today.[3] Moreover, the material environment has changed beyond recognition. The flail and corn sickle are long since obsolete, and if the words for them are still remembered they are as much collectors' items as the objects they represent.

If a dialect is seen as a variety of language spoken consistently by a tightly knit community with a common culture, then more promising material may possibly be found in urban than in rural environments today[4]. Admittedly this does not make the task of describing rural speech any the less valid, but contemporary surveys would do well to "stop chasing the will-o'-the wisp of "pure" and "genuine" rural dialects, and set about the task of describing the whole spectrum of variation which characterizes the speech of the average villager just as much as it does that of the town dweller".[5]

This article consists of two parts. In the first I have attempted, only selecting the most obvious features, to describe the sound system of the dialect of Kingston in Dorset, on the basis of the material collected in 1956 and published in the Survey of English Dialects (SED).[6] I have then in a similar way described the sound system of the same dialect as it was spoken in 1976,[7] and have pointed out where changes have taken place. The older and younger stage of the dialect are referred to below as K and L respectively. In the second part of the article I have attempted to measure lexical change in two localities and have tentatively discussed some of the reasons for lexical and grammatical variation in dialects of Wessex. Many of the examples in both sections are from material I collected for the Atlas Linguarum Europae[8] in 1976.

I

On the Phonology of a Dorset Dialect

1. The Older Dialect (=K)

Vowel System

Vowels

iː	ɪ		ʊ	uː
eː				oː
	ɛ	ə	ʌ	ɔː
	a			ɒ

Diphthongs

ɪɛ
æʊ
əɪ aɪ ɒɪ

/iː,ɪ,uː,ʊ,ɛ,ɔː,ʌ,ɒ/ have much the same distribution as /iː,ɪ,uː,ʊ,e,ɔː,ʌ,ɒ/ respectively in RP.[9] /eː/ and /oː/ occur in many words where RP has /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ respectively.

Thus

K	RP	
/le:n/	/leɪn/	'lane'
/lo:f/	/ləʊf/	'loaf'

When followed by /r/, however, K /e:/ often corresponds to RP /ɛə/, while /o:/ corresponds to RP /ɔ:/:

K	RP	
/me:r/	/mɛə/	'mare'
/vlo:r/	/flɔ:/	'floor'

The RP oppositions /ɜ:/-/ə/ and /æ/-/ɑ:/ are represented by K /ə/ and /a/ respectively, the presence of post-vocalic /r/ in the dialect ensuring that there is no confusion between such pairs as 'cat' and 'cart'.

K /æʊ/ generally corresponds to RP /aʊ/, K /ɑɪ/ to RP /aɪ/, and K /ɒɪ/ to RP /ɔɪ/. While RP /eɪ/, as has been indicated above, is generally represented by K /e:/, in a few words it is represented by K /aɪ/. Thus we find

K	RP	
/waɪ/	/weɪ/	'way'

alongside

/we:/	/weɪ/	'weigh', 'whey'

K /ɪɛ/ is found in a number of words which in RP have /i:/ or /eɪ/:

K	RP	
/mɪɛd/	/mi:d/	'mead' = 'meadow'
/mɪɛt/	/meɪt/	'mate'

Compare

/mi:t/	/mi:t/	'meat'

Realizations

/e:/ and /o:/ are about cardinal, but when followed by /r/ they tend to be rather more open. Occasionally /e:/ is [ɐɪ], and very occasionally /o:/ is [ɒʊ̯]. /u:/ and /o:/ may be followed by an off-glide in closed syllables, as in [stu:ən] and [sto:ən] for 'stone', while /o:/ may be realized as a rising diphthong, as in [wʊʊk] alongside [o:k] for 'oak'.

/ə,a/ and possibly /ɒ/ vary considerably in length, being longest in stressed syllables and before /r/. /a/ is characterized by an off-glide before /g/, as in [taˑᵉg], 'tag'. /ɔ:/ is [ɔ̝ˑ] and

thus more open than RP /ɔ:/. Although the transcriptions of the SED give no grounds for such an interpretation, it would be reasonable to assume that the realizations of /ɒ/ are in fact unrounded as in L and many other dialects of Wessex.

/ɪɛ/ is generally a rising diphthong, as in [gjɛt], 'gate'. /ɑɪ/ is mainly [ɐ̈ɪ], but frequently [ɑ̈ɪ], while /æʊ/ is mainly [ɐ̈ʊ], but frequently [əʊ]. /ɒɪ/ is [ɒ̝ɪ], but is a rising diphthong in ['bwɒɪlən], 'boiling'.

Consonants

The consonantal system is similar to that of RP, except that for initial /f,s,θ/ K tends to have /v,z,ð/ respectively, while initial /θr/ is usually represented by K/dr/.

/r/, which is retained in postvocalic positions, is retroflex, and intervocalic /t/ is occasionally realized as a glottal stop.

RP initial /h/ is usually lost, and initial /w/ may disappear before close back vowels, as in /'ʊmən/, 'woman'.

Words which in RP have final unstressed syllables in /ɪŋ/ have /ɪn/ in K, as in /'le:fɪn/, 'laughing'. RP final unstressed syllables in /əʊ/ are usually /r/ in K. Thus we find /'mɛdr/ for 'meadow'.

Certain final consonant clusters, notably those ending in /t,d,θ/, tend to be simplified in K. Thus we find /las/ for 'last', /bɔ:l/ for 'bald', and /vɪf/ for 'fifth'.

2. The Present-Day Dialect (=L)

Vowel System

Vowels					Diphthongs	
i:	ɪ		ʊ	u:	eɪ	oʊ
ɛ		ə	ʌ	ɔ:		ɔɪ
					æʊ	
a			ɑ		aɪ	ɑɪ

The main differences between the vowel system of K and that of L may be summarized as follows:

(1) In words whose counterparts have /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ in RP the K monophthongs /e:/ and /o:/ have been consistently replaced by L /eɪ/ and /oʊ/ respectively.

(2) K/ɒɪ/ has become L/ɔɪ/.

(3) Where K /ɪɛ/ corresponds to RP /iː/ it is generally replaced by L/iː/, and where it corresponds to RP /eɪ/ it is generally replaced by L/eɪ/. (It should be noted that already in K /ɪɛ/ is of infrequent occurrence.)

Realizations

The allophones of /ʊː/ with an off-glide are no longer prevalent. /ɛ/ is generally [ɛ̝], while /ʌ/ is [ʌ] and thus closer and more retracted than in RP. /ə/ and /a/ are realized as in K, except that the latter is not followed by an off-glide before /g/. /ɔː/ has more open unrounded variants approaching [ɑː], while /ɑ/ is [ɑ̟] and may be lengthened in stressed syllables.

/eɪ/ and /oʊ/ are [e̝ɪ] and [o̞ʊ] respectively, but when followed by /r/ they are [ɛə] and [oː] respectively, as in [mɛəɾ] 'mare' and [boːɾ] 'boar'. While K /aɪ/ is realized generally as [äɪ], L /aɪ/ is often [aɪ], but sometimes [æɪ], perhaps by analogy with RP /eɪ/. Where K has /ɑɪ/ realized mainly as [ɑ̈ɪ], L has /ɑɪ/ realized mainly as [äɪ]. Where K has /ɒɪ/ realized as [ɒ̟ɪ] or [ɯɒɪ], L has /ɔɪ/ realized as [ɔɪ].

Consonants

The consonants are as for K except that voicing of initial fricatives is restricted to /f/ and /s/ and occurs only sporadically even here. The glottal stop for intervocalic /t/ appears to be more prevalent, and final consonant clusters tend not to be simplified.

Conclusion

L has modified the phonological system of K in that it has largely discarded K /ɪɛ/, has replaced /ɒɪ/ by /ɔɪ/, and has replaced /eː/ and /oː/ by /eɪ/ and /oʊ/ respectively. Here it should be remembered that [e̝ɪ] and [o̞ʊ] were already present in K as occasional realizations of /eː/ and /oː/.

Moreover, there have been many changes in distribution, as in:

K	L	RP	
/ˈeːstr/	/ˈiːstr/	/ˈiːstə/	'Easter'
/eːf/	/af/	/haːf/	'half'
/lag/	/lɛg/	/leg/	'leg'
/karn/	/kɔːrn/	/kɔːn/	'corn'
/ʌːns/	/wʌns/	/wʌns/	'once'

In such instances L has replaced the distinctly dialectal vowel of K by one from its own system which approximates more closely to RP.

These changes in L, and others which have been listed, could be seen as concessions to RP, but here two reservations must be made.

Firstly, L has not, with the exception of /ɔɪ/ for K /ɒɪ/, introduced completely new features into its sound system, but has exploited certain features which were already present in K, and suppressed others.[10] Some of the features it has exploited do not occur exclusively in RP, and others are foreign to RP. /eɪ/ and /oʊ/ for K /e:/ and /o:/ are for instance typical not only of RP, but also of many dialects to the east of Dorset, and loss of /h/, /-ɪn/ for unstressed final syllables in /ɪŋ/, /-ɹ/ for unstressed final syllables in /oʊ/, glottal stop for intervocalic /t/ are characteristic of popular regional speech in urban centres in the south of England rather than of RP.

Secondly, while L is clearly innovatory compared with K, it tends to conserve features of K, particularly in words which are in everyday use. Thus my informant assures me that he would say /sto:n/, phonetically [stʊ̆on], rather than /stoʊn/for 'stone' while at work in the building trade, and for 'ewe' he says /joʊ/, a logical modification of K /jo:/ in terms of his own system rather than a concession to RP /ju:/.

II

Some Notes on the Lexis and Grammar of Wessex Dialects

We can gain a very rough impression of the extent of lexical change in a given dialect over the past twenty or so years by taking those SED responses which do not correspond lexically to Standard English usage and expressing them as a percentage of the total number of SED responses. We then in a similar way express the non-standard ALE responses as a percentage of the total number of ALE responses and compare the two percentages. The figures for Brompton Regis in Somerset and Kingston in Dorset were as follows:

	Brompton Regis	Kingston
Non-standard responses in SED (collected 1956)	21%	18%
Non-standard responses for ALE (collected 1976)	6.5%	1%

In the SED the percentage of non-standard responses is roughly the same for Brompton Regis and Kingston, amounting to approximately 20% in each place. In the ALE the percentage of non-standard responses for each village is considerably less than 20%. No doubt

this is an indication of dialectal decay although it could be argued that a higher proportion of non-standard responses might have been elicited by a less superficial questionnaire along the lines of that for the SED. The more significant difference is perhaps that between the percentages of non-standard responses obtained for the ALE for Brompton Regis and Kingston respectively - 6.5% in the one place and 1% in the other. This discrepancy is best explained by the fact that the Brompton Regis informant conformed in all respects to the SED specifications. He was a 67-year-old farmworker, whereas his Kingston counterpart, whose biographical details have already been given, was neither a farmworker[11] nor a member of the older generation, but was in my opinion equally if not more representative of the present-day rural community to which he belongs.

Clearly much work needs to be done on why some non-standard lexical and grammatical forms are retained in dialects and others discarded. Why for instance is emmet for 'ant' apparently still common in south-west England, while shitabed (South Zeal, Devonshire) for the no less ubiquitous dandelion is not? Perhaps emmet was given a new lease of life through being applied in some parts to the 'foreigners' who in the summer months swarm over the south-western counties. On the other hand, it might be argued, the term would not have changed its referent if it had not already been current. With shitabed it is easier to hypothesize: even if the laxative properties of the plant had not been forgotten, the use of such an admirably transparent term would probably have been considered improper by a generation which is in many ways less healthily outspoken than its predecessors.

Again, the more scientific approach makes itself felt. On the one hand this is indicative of more enlightened attitudes, on the other hand English scientific terminology is notoriously opaque and does not for the layman explain the things it refers to. Thus at Swimbridge, Devon, I first obtained colostrum for 'beestings', and was told of the valuable antibodies it contains, which immunize the young calf against disease for the rest of its life. Only after some probing did I elicit bussy milk, and was told that in some places this was formerly used to make a milk pudding called bussy pie. Bussy is presumably connected with buss, 'a young calf' and buss-calf, 'an unweaned calf'.[12]

Generally one might perhaps be justified in assuming that words which belong to the intimate, domestic or specialized sphere will be preserved best, especially if they have denotations or connotations not easily rendered in Standard English. Thus we find toad (widespread) for 'ill-behaved child', to skin teddies (widespread) for 'to peel potatoes', maskel (Swimbridge) for 'caterpillar', deaf (adj., widespread) used to describe nuts without a kernel, dewberry (Ansty, Dorset) for a 'large kind of blackberry', vairy (Brompton Regis) for a 'small kind of weasel'(?), thirdle

(adj., S. Zeal, Swimbridge) used of cattle which are gaunt and hungry-looking, floor (S. Zeal) for 'area in which ore was washed', spray (Brompton Regis) for 'branches of a conifer', go-from-me-come-to-thee (Brompton Regis) for 'crosscut saw'.

Even when a word is no longer used literally it may be found in metaphorical usage or as a common turn of phrase. At Kingston the word for 'left-handed' was, according to SED, keck-handed and 'clumsy' was scrummish. According to my informant at the same place 'left-handed' is left-handed and 'clumsy' is kack-handed. The latter is of course also a common slang expression and one cannot know whether it has been adopted from outside or is a relic. With the expression It's blowing enough to wim taters, which may be literally translated 'It's blowing enough to winnow potatoes', i.e. very hard, the case may be argued more cogently. Wim is an otherwise obsolete word, and the form tater has generally been replaced by potato or spud.[13]

It is perhaps less easy to explain why certain non-standard grammatical forms which have exact counterparts in Standard English should be preserved in some dialects and yet disappear in others. The demonstrative pronouns thick, thicky etc. recorded for some SED locations in Wessex represent a system of contrasts which does not exist in Standard English,[14] and this may be an explanation for their survival, but why should uch etc. for 'I' have died out on Exmoor[15] and yet have been preserved until recently in a comparatively populous part of South Somerset centring on Merriott?[16] At Merriott I have also recorded forms of the negative imperative without do, as in Not put the coal on the fire like that for 'Do not put the coal on the fire like that'.[17] In a somewhat larger area, of which the same village is again more or less the centre, initial [r] tends to be aspirated, according to the SED.[18] It may be that historical dialect boundaries are still having their effect here. On the other hand one could again point out that more populous communities, especially if they are socially cohesive and have a sense of their own identity, often tend to preserve dialectal features which once had wider currency.

In 1905 Joseph Wright stated: "There can be no doubt that pure dialect speech is rapidly disappearing even in country districts, owing to the spread of education, and to modern facilities for intercommunication."[19] It is therefore surprising and gratifying that even today it is possible to supplement the work of earlier surveys by recording archaic lexical and grammatical forms never before listed for particular localities. Nevertheless, the linguist who records only what is archaic and neglects all else is bound to give a distorted impression of linguistic and cultural patterns. A sentence such as "'Twas so clisty that the gruter would hardly turn the coam" is no longer representative of rural speech in the south-west of England. Not only is it incomprehensible to the

outsider, but it is also likely, as K. C. Phillipps points out,[20] to baffle most present-day Devonian or Cornish speakers under the age of forty. Clearly, modern surveys should not ignore obsolete or obsolescent forms, but at the same time they must give as impartial and comprehensive picture as possible of the actual speech habits of different age-groups. It is only on the basis of such detailed information that accurate synchronic and diachronic studies can be carried out and attempts be made to explain the causes of linguistic variation.

1. Ralph Whitlock, "The Countryside", The Western Gazette, 3 December 1976, p.7. For information on the national trend see Bruce Wood, "Urbanisation and Local Government", in Trends in British Society since 1900, ed. A. H. Halsey (London: Macmillan, 1972), p. 257 and p. 280, Table 9.8.

2. Harold Orton et al., Survey of English Dialects (Leeds: Arnold, 1962-71), Introduction, pp. 14ff.

3. The influence of northern and Midlands English on the south-western dialects is discussed by K. C. Phillipps in Westcountry Words and Ways (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976), pp. 34-35.

4. J. B. Smith, "Tradition and Language in an Urban Community", Lore and Language, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jan. 1975), pp. 5-8.

5. J. C. Wells, in a review of Bertil Hedevind, The Dialect of Dentdale (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1967) in Journal of the International Phonetic Association, Vol. 1, No. 1 (June 1971), p. 48.

6. Vol. 4, Parts 1-3.

7. by P. L., aged 31, who has always lived in Kingston, is now a builder, but spent two years in agriculture. Note that the average age of the SED informants for Kingston was 73. They will thus have been 31 over 60 years ago.

8. using the First Questionnaire: Onomasiology, Basic Vocabulary, ed. A. Weijnen et al. (Nijmegen, 1974).

9. Transcriptions of RP are in accordance with A.C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English, 2nd ed. (London: Arnold, 1970).

10. Cf. Martyn F. Wakelin, English Dialects: An Introduction (London: Athlone, 1972), p. 106.

11. The ALE First Questionnaire does not place undue emphasis on agriculture in any specialized sense, and the Kingston informant had no difficulty in answering any of the questions.

12. The English Dialect Dictionary, ed. Jospeh Wright (Oxford: O.U.P., 1898), Vol. 1, p. 406.

13. The form preserved in ['tɐɪdɪ-ɛɬm], 'potato-haulms', is probably the oldest of those recorded for L. Cf. K ['tɛdɪ-e:mz], and [tɛdi:z], 'potatoes'.

14. Wakelin, op. cit, pp. 164-165.

15. F. J. Snell, A Book of Exmoor (London: Methuen, 1903), p. 167.

16. Wakelin, op. cit., p. 112; J. B. Smith, "A Reflex of Middle English ich", Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, Vol. 30, Part 302 (Sept. 1975), pp. 122-124.

17. Cf. Wakelin, op. cit., p.125.

18. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

19. Op. cit., Vol. VI, Preface to Grammar, p.iv.

20. Op. cit., p. 10.

Notes on Two English Dialect Words of Obscure Origin

A10.

by J.B. SMITH

In English Dialects: An Introduction Martyn Wakelin has a short section on words of obscure origin, some of which "are poorly attested . . . and admit of no explanation for the present, although one may be found in due course".[1] Among his examples are chonnocks and cornutor, and I should like to comment briefly on these.

Chonnocks, /tʃɒnəks/, 'turnips', is listed, as a second response only, by the Survey of English Dialects[2] (SED) at II.4.1 for St 2 (Mow Cop in North Staffordshire). At Kingsley Holt in the same country (12 miles SE of Mow Cop and 4 miles NW of Alton, which is St 3 in SED), a small village where I lived from 1933 - 50, chonnock was a common dialectal expression for 'turnip'. Palatalization was a feature of the dialect here, as in /djɛd/, 'dead' /kjat/, 'cat'. Though this was generally restricted to /d/ and /k/ before open and half-open front vowels, and even here only occurred in a number of words, it would be tempting to assume that the initial /t/ of turnip was affected in a similar way and eventually became the initial affricate of chonnock.

The change from /tj/ to /tʃ/ and /dj/ to /dʒ / in initial position is of course not uncommon. In colloquial English 'tune' is frequently / tʃ u:n / and 'due' / dʒ u: / for instance, and similar changes may be observed in dialects which tend to palatalize initial plosives. Thus at Kingsley Holt /djɛd /, 'dead' had a variant /dʒɛd /, and SED at VI.4.5 records /dʒɛ f/, 'deaf', for two dialects of Cheshire. At Iron Acton (formerly Gloucestershire, now Avon), 8 miles NE of Bristol, an informant for the Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE) told me that a 'very old' expression for 'potato' is chutter. Presumably this is a varient of tater, which is now the prevalent form. Palatalization does not appear to be such a common feature of Wiltshire and Somerset dialects. Nevertheless tiddies, teddies etc., 'potatoes', occur as chitties, chetties etc. at SED II.4.1

for some localities in these counties.

Again, it would be tempting to assume that the final /k/ of chonnock developed from /p/ under the influence of initial /tʃ/, and that we thus have here an example of partial assimilation.[4] The fact that -ip is comparatively rare as a final syllable, whereas -ock is frequent, being found in such words as bullock charlock, hillock, paddock, tussock, could also, one might argue, have helped to bring about such a change.

However, the argument that chonnock could be a variant of turnip meets with greater difficulties when we come to examine the first vowel, /ɒ/, of the dialectal form. It is true that, in common with some neighbouring dialects, Kingsley Holt has /ɒ/ in a number of words which have /ɜ:/ in RP. Thus we find Bozlem, 'Burslem', cos, 'curse', fost, 'first', pos 'purse', wost, 'worst' etc., but in all these the vowel is immediately followed by s ,[5] which is not the case in chonnock.

The etymology of chonnock thus remains something of a mystery , but it is at least interesting to note that its distribution is somewhat wider than SED would lead us to assume.

With cornutor, on the other hand, the evidence is perhaps a little clearer. Dr. Wakelin tells us that, apart from one occurrence, recorded as a second response at Blackawton in Devon (SED III.13.16), this expression for 'donkey' is utterly unknown. However, if we ignore tha initial syllable, there do seem to be parallels. For instance an ALE informant at Ansty, which incidentally is also SED Dorset 2, tells me that one name for the donkey is nutor. This is reminiscent of two words for 'donkey' given by the English Dialect Dictionary. These are nooty (Sussex), and nutten (Isle of Wight and Somerset).[6] Moreover, in the same work we find nutter (Oxfordshire and Berkshire), 'to whinny softly as a mare and colt to one another', hence nuttering,'the whinnying of a colt; the hard, discontented noise made by a horse before whinnying'.[7]

JLDS, 28, Jan., 1979

The names nutor, nooty and nutten may thus refer to the braying of the donkey. I should further like to suggest that what the Blackawton informant said may have been something like "The donkey is called 'nutor'". -This could easily be misheard as "The donkey is 'cornutor'".

1. Martyn F. Wakelin, English Dialects: An Introduction, rev. ed. (London, Athlone, 1977), p. 67.

2. The Survey of English Dialects, ed. Harold Orton et al. (Leeds, Arnold, 1962 -71).

3. Atlas Linguarum Europae: First Questionnaire, ed. A. Weijnen et al. (Nijmegen, 1974).

4. It is worth noting here that many southern and Midland dialects have termit for turnip. Here also the final consonant appears to have been assimilated to the initial one.

5. Cf. Peter Anderson, "The Development of ME oi/ui in the Dialects of the North-West Midlands, "JLDS, No.27 (January 1978), p. 22.

6. The English Dialect Dictionary, ed. Joseph Wright, IV (Oxford: O.U.P., 1905), 296 & 313.

7. Ibid., p. 313.

FRIENDS IN AID

We not infrequently receive the comment from subscribers that they are rather surprised that the magazine can be produced in return for such a small subscription. And, quite frankly, we too, constantly share that feeling. It is indeed something of a surprise as well as a great relief when, with each number we manage to keep out of the red. The main reason, of course, is that all work is voluntary; there are no costs except those of printing, mailing and correspondence; contributors forego any payment and no profit is expected or made by anyone except the printer—and we should like here to express appreciation of the help we receive from our printer and of his very reasonable charges.

But this naturally means that our reserves are small, and such as we have are owed entirely to the kindness and generosity of our friends. Sometimes this help comes from a contributor, who, far from receiving any payment for his article, makes a contribution towards the cost of printing it—frequently for the cost of illustrations. Occasionally a contributor has met the whole cost of his article. And now and then friends have paid for small incidentals, as of duplicating circulars and printing notices: others have kindly returned back numbers of the magazine which we are often able to sell. But we have also received a few straightforward gifts, some of which have been anonymous. We feel that there can surely be no breach of faith in revealing now that an anonymous gift of £50 in 1972 was from the late Sir Owen Morshead, then a valued member of our Editorial Committee. Just recently we have received a welcome bequest of £100 from the late W. B. C. Paynter for which we are indeed most grateful. Mr. Paynter, although never a member of our Committee or contributor to the magazine, was greatly interested in our work and a subscriber for many years. He belonged to a family living at Hendford Manor, Yeovil from 1889 to 1936.

And so—like many non-profit making magazines—we receive absolutely vital help in these various ways in sums both small and (for us) large from many friends. The help is indeed vital, for the simple truth is that our *Notes and Queries* could hardly continue, or could only do so in a most attenuated way, without it. We are glad to take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude and warmest thanks to the many friends who have given us encouragement and practical help in these different ways, as we would to all others who may at any time be able to do so.

205. DORSET AND SOMERSET DIALECTS. UNRECORDED WORDS AND SAYINGS. The following words and sayings, collected from dialect speakers over the last twelve years, are not listed by the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*,[1] Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary (EDD)*,[2] nor, as far as I have been able to ascertain, by the *Survey of English Dialects (SED)*.[3]

I should be grateful for further reports on the occurrence, in written or spoken dialect, of these or similar forms, and for any information on their etymology.

DORSET

ANSTY (ST/7704)[4]

biskity-milk—Beestings; the first milk of a newly-calved cow. *SED* V.5.10 records *bisty-milk* for Ansty, and *biskymilk* for some localities in Dorset and adjoining counties.

chuck—A nickname for the pig. According to *An Ilchester Word List chookie* is children's usage for 'little pig'.[5] Cf. *EDD chuck*, 'a call to pigs', and *chucky-pig*, 'a young pig'.

cub't—A nickname for the cat.

nutor—A nickname for the donkey. Cf. *EDD nooty* (Sussex) and *nutten* (Isle of Wight and Somerset), 'a donkey'; *nutter* (Oxford and Berks.), 'to whinny softly, as a mare and a colt to one another', hence *nuttering*, 'the whinnying of a colt; the hard, discontented noise made by a horse before whinnying'. Possibly related is the previously unexplained *cornutor* for 'donkey', recorded by *SED* at III.13.16 for Blackawton in Devon.[6]

quarter, v.—To clean out the sides of the road. "There was a workman working on Bulbarrow. He was quartering, that's cleaning out the side of the roads and throwing it all up in the hedge, to keep it neat and tidy".

strake of wind n.—Said of a very thin person.

tally—A nickname for the fox. Presumably from the huntsman's cry *tally-ho*.

BEAMINSTER (ST/4801)

crinnle-cock—Cider.

grubbing-scythe—A scythe with a short, tough blade. This was used for cutting the rough grass and other coarse vegetation known as *roughet*.

jumble-juice—Cider. Possible this is a distortion of *jungle-juice*, which Partridge glosses as 'African rum. Hence, any cheap strong liquor'.[7]

offcut, n. and v.—(To remove) the large branches, or second timber, of a tree that has been felled. My informant explained: "Offcut—that's the second timber. Here's the

tree down. You cut'n in two.—'Here, offcut thick tree for I. 'Tidn' the branches. 'Tis the second timber of the tree. 'Tis the second cut".

ooth—A hasp-shaped metal instrument for removing stones from horses' hooves. I suspect this to be a variant of *oose*, which *EDD* lists as a dialect form of *noose* occurring in Shropshire, Somerset and Devon.

second cut— See *offcut* above.

There's vive-an'-twenty zarts o' women, an' vower-an'-twenty zarts o' withy—A thatcher's saying.

'Tidn' no good to get old and not get artful—Cf. *An old knave is no babe.*[8]

Too many irons in the vire, an' narn a one o'm i'n 'ot—A version of a proverb which in written sources follows the general pattern: "He that has many irons in the fire, part must cool" or " . . . some will burn".[9]

upright as a gig—Said of a person who walks without stooping. "Father lived to ninety-three, and upright's a gig. Niver walk wi' a stick!".

What's called time is? What's clock?—Expressions for 'What's the time?'. Neither expression corresponds exactly to any of the versions listed by *SED* at VII.5.1.

The work's dirty, but the money's clean—Cf. *Account not that work slavery that brings in penny savory.*[10]

You can't have the bun and 'apenny too—Cf. *You cannot eat your cake and have it, He would sell the cow and sup the milk, There be many that will have both the egg and the hen.*[11]

KINGSTON (SY/9680)

It's blowing enough to wim taters—'It's blowing enough to winnow potatoes', i.e. very hard. Cf. *to blow the horns off the kye*, listed by *EDD* for Co. Antrim.

SOMERSET

BROMPTON REGIS (SS/9532)

book-farmer—An inexperienced farmer who derives his knowledge of agriculture from books.

bullocks'-house—Cow house. Nominal compounds in which the first element has an *-s* suffix are frequent in the south-western dialects.[12] Cf. *dog's-rose, emmets'-pew* etc. below. As *EDD* indicates, especially in the southern dialects *bullocks* are horned cattle of either sex.

go-from-me-come-to-thee—Crosscut saw. My informant, now nearly 70, claims that he and his companions used this expression when they were young men.

stag and hounds—A chasing game played by the informant in his schooldays, about 60 years ago. "We used to go off playing stag and hounds then, dinner times. Two'd go off as stags, and they'd get a quarter of an hour's start, and then the hounds'd start and go off. Oh, sometimes we'd get back just as the others was coming out from school. Then we'd get a good hiding for it tomorrow morning. We knew what was coming. But we didn't tak' no notice of it".

CHURCHINGFORD[13] (ST/2113)

blow off—To smoke tobacco. "They'd blow off about ounce o' that a day". "I didn't smoke a lot back then, but I used to light up and blow off".

cheat—Blight or smut on wheat. "Red Standard wheat, that was the most popular one time, come in new. Well, that would stand the blight and that better. That used to be called 'cheat'. Cheat, that was old smoky stuff. Cheat and blight some years form in the years o' wheat, you know. If we had a fog out 'long, you know, foggy mornings, well, they'd say, 'I'm damned if there won't be some smut or cheat in the wheat this year'. And you could see it, see, on the years o' the wheat. All blacky". According to *OED* and *EDD* cheat is the name given to various weeds and grasses which grow among grain. Neither authority glosses the word as 'smut'.

dog's-rose—Dog-rose.

ewe-mack—A large dog-rose bush, or one of its branches. Referring to a superstition about witches, the informant said, "They reckon if you run a'der 'em and scratch 'em wi' one o' these yer ewe-macks an' mak' 'em blid, they couldn't witch 'ee". The expression has also been recorded for Oakford, near Bampton, Devon.[14]

ewe-mack 'ip—The hip of the *ewe-mack*.

one-armed man—Pump. *EDD* gives *one-arm'd landlord*, 'a cant name for a pump' occurring in West Somerset.

toy—An original and entertaining person. "I mind old Oliver Moore. He was what I call a proper 'toy' when he was young. He used to bring an old mandolin down yer . . . Oliver'd play a tune. And then in the night he'd dress up a bit and sing some song". The word was recorded in much the same sense for a Devon locality in 1908: "*Toy*, a caution. In speaking of a certain lady in the village who is somewhat eccentric, a publican said, "Er's a proper toy, 'er is'. Two other equally common words having the same meaning are 'masterpiece' and 'cough-drop'."[15]

white dog—An expression used by my informant's mother for white heat as seen in a bread oven. "Her used to zay, 'Her'll soon be up. White dog's coming. When he was getting hot he'd git white. All that black would go out of the bricks in th'oven, and her'd say, 'The white dog's come. It's hot now'."

MERRIOTT (ST/4513)

gnaw-gut—Cider.

toll-boy—A decoy. My informant, who is over 70, said that when he was a boy the Merriott youths were always fighting the youth of Crewkerne. The former would send one of their number as a *toll-boy* up the middle of the road to Crewkerne. The rest would follow him behind the hedges, ready to spring out on any Crewkerne youths rash enough to take the bait and attack him. *EDD* gives *toll-boy*, but not in this sense. William Barnes records *toleboy*, 'A decoy', but gives no further information.[16]

WEDMORE (ST/4448)

bee-lep—See *lep* below.

emmets'-pew—Anthill. This form was given by my informant as an alternative to the more common *emmets'-batch* and *ant-heave*.

lep—A straw bee-hive; skep. "A 'skep' is what they catch 'em in when they swarm. A 'lep' most people call 'em, not a 'skep'. A 'bee-lep'." Cf. *EDD leap*, 'a large basket', and *bee-lippen*, 'a bee-hive'.

mallards'-heads—Lumps of black peat from well below the surface of the turbary. "That's the black turf from the bottom layers. The light turf comes from the top two or three mumps, and then down further there come again the black ones. That's what they call 'mallards'-heads'. They'm as hard as coal when they'm dry.—A wonderful fire!".

pennerthers—Pieces of peat twelve inches by nine. "When they'd cut for your own burning they'd reckon to cut the the mumps twelve inches by ten. But if you were cutting 'pennerthers' to travel round and deliver round, they were only twelve by nine".

1. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 1933; *A Supplement to the O.E.D.*, ed. R. W. Burchfield, I and II, 1972, 1976.
2. *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright, O.U.P., 1898-1905.
3. *The Survey of English Dialects*, ed. Harold Orton et al., Leeds: Arnold, 1962-71.
4. The name of each locality is followed, within brackets, by the full kilometre National Grid reference.

5. J. Stevens Cox, *An Ilchester Word List and Some Folklore Notes*, Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1974, p. 31.
6. Cf. Martyn F. Wakelin, *English Dialects: An Introduction*, rev. ed., London: Athlone, 1977, p. 67, where *cornutor* is listed as a 'word of obscure origin', and J. B. Smith, "Notes on Two English Dialect Words of Obscure Origin", to appear in *Journ. of the Lancashire Dialect Soc.*, 28, 1979.
7. Eric Partridge, *A Dict. of Slang and Unconventional English*, 5th ed., II, 1155.
8. *Oxford Dict. of English Proverbs*, 3rd ed., 1970, p. 590.
9. Ibid., pp. 509-10; Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dict. of Proverbs in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Univ. of Michigan, 1950, p. 343.
10. Ibid., p. 757.
11. *Oxford Dict. of English Proverbs*, p. 215; Tilley, op. cit., p. 125 and p. 183.
12. Wakelin, op. cit., pp. 111-12.
13. The Churchingford informant was born c. 1900 at Hemyock, five miles to the west, and worked for some years at Sampford Peveril in E. Devon (ST/0314). His dialect may have been influenced by this stay. However, he told me that the belief about the *ewe-mack* was recounted to him by his father, who was born in the Churchingford area.
14. E.M.K., "Fifty-second Report on Devonshire Verbal Provincialisms", *Report and Trans. of the Devonshire Assoc.*, 71, 1939, p. 136.
15. C.H.L. of Newton Abbot, "Twenty-first Report on Devonshire Verbal Provincialisms", *Report and Trans. of the Devonshire Assoc.*, 40, 1908, p. 66.
16. William Barnes, *Glossary of the Dorset Dialect*, 2nd ed., 1886, rpt. Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1970, p. 111.

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206. POSTCARD FROM HARDY TO HARRY POUNCY. (*SDNQ*, March, 1978, 339). With reference to this article may I confirm two conjectures made, and clarify one other point, as Harry Pouncy was my father? (Incidentally I was twenty days old when the card was written!).

Yes my father was Thomas Pouncy's youngest son, born 2 Jan. 1870 and baptized at Fordington St. George. There is a plaque to his memory in St. Peter's, Dorchester; he died at Weymouth, of double pneumonia, when only 55 years of age. He was, as deduced, on the staff of the *Dorset County Chronicle*, and its senior reporter. He often wrote up the reports of his own lectures, and indeed my mother once chided him for his laudatory comments; to which, feeling slightly hurt, he replied, 'Well, it was true, wasn't it?'. False modesty had no place in his genuinely humble make-up. Now one clarification. The reference in the post card to hearing "the records" is interpreted—"It

A12 Lore + Language, 3/2, January 1980

Possible Sources for the Legend of Wizard's Slough in R D Blackmore's *Lorna Doone*

J B Smith

The extent of R D Blackmore's debt to oral tradition for some of the characters and events in *Lorna Doone*[1] has been much discussed, but as far as I have been able to ascertain it has never been suggested that he may have drawn on local sources for the "legend" of Wizard's Slough. It will be remembered that in Chapter 58, which is entitled "Master Huckaback's Secret", John Ridd, on his way to visit Reuben Huckaback at the mine, sits in a niche of rock, "gazing at the slough, and pondering the old tradition about it", which he then proceeds to narrate. His story falls into four main parts, which may be summarized as follows:

1. The wizard lures a pilgrim to his palace, which is situated on a "central steep" of Exmoor.
2. The wizard engages the pilgrim in a contest of words, which the pilgrim wins.
3. The ground opens up, engulfing both the wizard's palace and the crag on which it is built. All that is left is a black bog, which comes to be known as Wizard's Slough.
4. The saint founds a chapel "some three miles westwards", where he lies with his holy relic. It is here that both Lorna's Aunt Sabina and Sir Ensor Doone are buried.

In 1897, some thirty years after the publication of *Lorna Doone*, Frederick Hancock recounts the following tradition in his *Parish of Selworthy:*

> It is related that a very holy man dwelt at one time near the Doone Valley, spending his time in a hermit-like seclusion. He spoke to none and entered beneath no roof tree but his own. But one day a witch enticed him into a circle which he had drawn. The holy man made the sign of the Cross, but the fall was irremediable. He followed the witch into his hut, and was never seen again.[2]

It is true that in the chapter entitled "Folklore", in which this is recounted, Hancock mingles accounts of local survivals gleaned from oral tradition with examples taken from written sources. However, the latter are generally acknowledged, and in any case this piece of local witch-lore seems too remote, in either content or style, from Blackmore's legend of Wizard's Slough to have been based on it. On the other hand Hancock's story has much in common with the following West Somerset tradition of how a latter-day male witch, who went by the name of Vuzzy Jarge, was also in the habit of ensnaring his victims in a magic circle:

> One of this old witch's wicked ways of doing a person an injury was to make a "witch's circle" to trap them in, that is, he would stand still in a certain place where they would be likely to pass, and there he would mutter his curses on them; next he would turn round slowly, marking out with the point of his old walking-stick a circle on the ground, all the time saying some horrible things. Directly the person to be "witched" entered this circle, the spell would take effect, and mishap of some kind would mar the journey, or sudden sickness would take the victim.[3]

I would therefore suggest firstly that Hancock's account is an authentic popular tradition, and secondly that Blackmore may have come across an earlier version of it, but adapted it in his legend of Wizard's Slough to make the holy man overcome the wizard rather than vice versa.

This brings us to the second element of Blackmore's story, in which the wizard engages the pilgrim in a battle of words and is defeated. Here we have the widespread motif of a contest with the Devil or other supernatural being, examples of which are provided by Child's ballad "The Fause Knight upon the Road"[4] and the following riddle:

> A man in the wilderness asked me,
> How many strawberries grow in the sea?
> I answered him, as I thought good,
> As many as red herrings grow in the wood.[5]

A local variant occurs in the legend of Tarr Steps on Exmoor, which were said to have been built by the Devil in a single night. The local priest, seeking to cross the bridge, enters a dispute with the Devil, which he presumably wins by having the last word:

> "You old black crow," yells Devil
> "If I be a crow," says Parson, "I bain't so black as yew!"[6]

In his story, Blackmore has the wizard ask the pilgrim the following riddle:

"Where can you find a man and wife, one going up-hill, and one going down, and not a word spoken between them?" — "In a cucumber plant," said the modest saint; blushing even to think of it, and the wizard knew he was done for.

This sounds like a parody of the type of folk riddle in which an object is compared to more than one person, and, more specifically, to the type in which related persons, usually brothers, are said to live together but not to be able to make contact by seeing, touching or speaking to one another.[7]

The third part of the story, in which the wizard's palace is engulfed by a quagmire, is reminiscent of traditions according to which the habitations of evil-doers sink into the ground or are overwhelmed by the waves. There appears to be a paucity of such traditions in Somerset and Devon, but Hunt gives numerous examples for Cornwall.[8] In none of these does a quagmire play any part, but Tony Deane and Tony Shaw tell us that Trewartha Marsh on Bodmin Moor is supposed to conceal a place named Tresillern.[9]

At the same time Blackmore may have been influenced by traditions, common in Somerset and Devon, according to which a supernatural being, usually a troublesome ghost, is laid by a cleric or group of clerics. As often as not the spirit is banished into an expanse of water. Thus it is well known on Exmoor that the ghost of Master Lucott of Porlock was ordered into an iron box which was cast into the Severn Sea[10] and that the restless spirit of Madam Joan Carne was condemned to stay in the Witch's Pond near Sandhill Manor, Withycombe,[11] while Hancock tells of a "Parson A." who "returned" after being decently buried in his parish churchyard, but was banished by "Parson B." to "a deep dark pool, overhung by old gnarled trees"![12]

In the fourth part of the story we are told that the saint, having overcome the wizard at what is now Wizard's Slough, founds a chapel "some three miles westwards". As this is one of the few clues to the situation of the chapel, in order to trace it we shall first of all need to locate Wizard's Slough. There has been much controversy about the site of this and the mine it concealed, but Blackmore does give us some relevant information. In Chapter 31, for instance, John Fry trails Reuben Huckaback from Plover's Barrows, which is near Oare (ss8047), to Wizard's Slough via "the top of the long black combe, two miles or more from Plover's Barrows, and winding to the southward" — this sounds like the valley of Chalk Water (ss8145)) — and over Black

Barrow Down (ss8344), which is about two and a half miles south-east of Oare. Again, in Chapter 72 Blackmore tells us that the "Warren" lies "well away to the westward of the mine". Today there is a Warren Farm, also on the banks of the infant Exe, at ss796408, and in the light of such evidence it seems reasonable to place the Slough at ss8243, "somewhere in the Maddacombe area, where there is to this day much wet ground, though nothing answering to the description that he gives of the fearful bog".[13] If we now look for the saint's chapel "some three miles westwards" we shall find ourselves in the vicinity of Badgworthy Water and the Doone Valley (ss7944). It is at this chapel that Lorna's guardian, Sir Ensor Doone, and her Aunt Sabina are buried. In describing the burial of Sir Ensor (Chapter 41) Blackmore tells us that it took place "in the little chapel-yard", but refuses to tell us where this is "because we are now such Protestants, that I might do it an evil turn". Nevertheless one gains the impression from his account that the chapel was at no great distance from the Doone Valley.

Here one is reminded that the holy man of Hancock's legend dwelt "near the Doone Valley", and that there is also historical evidence for the settlement of Badgworthy by anchorites. Thus a charter of the *Buckland Cartulary* speaks of a "grant by Henry Pomeri of the church of Brandun with its appendages and the land of the hermits (cum apenticiis suis et terram heremitarum) of Baga Wordia, to the brethren of the Hospital of Jerusalem", and a document confirming this refers to "the land of Baggeworth, which the hermits held".[14] MacDermot dates the first of these documents to between 1162 and 1184 and points out that later charters, of the following century, also to be found in the *Buckland Cartulary*, mention several tenements and a chapel there. The same author then argues, on the basis of further evidence, that most of the inhabitants were wiped out by the Black Death in 1348-9, although one tenement was let for several years from 1424 to a certain Thomas Dure.[15] From this time onwards Badgworthy seems to have been only sporadically occupied.[16]

The historical evidence referred to above suggests that the settlement was already well established by the second half of the twelfth century, and archaeolological findings would appear to encourage such an assumption. Thus Charles Whybrow tells us: "Whether the ruins of the so-called Doones' Houses which we now see at Badgworthy are hermitages or the habitations of ordinary peasants, they include several of the longhouses typical of Norman times which probably replaced less solid buildings of the tenth and eleventh centuries."[17]

It is interesting that the existence of a religious settlement in Badgworthy should be echoed, so many centuries later, both in the tradition related by Hancock of a contest between a holy man and a sorcerer and in Blackmore's legend of Wizard's Slough. In the latter we may of course deplore the whimsical and condescending tone, which in its remoteness from popular speech is so typical of many Victorian book-legends.[18] Nevertheless it is possible that here, as elsewhere in *Lorna Doone*, and in his other books about the West Country, the author was drawing on a rich fund of oral tradition which was soon to become extinct.

As was indicated at the beginning of this article, much effort has been expended on attempts to trace the prototypes for the main characters and events of *Lorna Doone*. What is needed, however, in order to establish the true extent of Blackmore's debt to local sources and his attitudes to them, is a detailed and systematic investigation of his lore and language. It would, for instance, be valuable to know how faithfully he portrayed the dialect, customs and traditions of the Exmoor region. Relatively few studies point in this direction, and it is tantalizing that two of the most interesting come to very different conclusions. While Baring-Gould points out that some of Blackmore's motifs were common currency in nineteenth-century Somerset and Devon,[19] in a more recent article[20] William Kirwin maintains that many of his proverbs were synthetic, "created by a literary artist to vivify his country speech".[21]

Notes

1. Richard Doddridge Blackmore, *Lorna Doone* (London: Sampson Low, 1869)
2. Frederick Hancock, *The Parish of Selworthy* (Taunton: Barnicott and Pearce, 1897), p.244.
3. F W Mathews, *Tales of the Blackdown Borderland*, The Somerset Folk Series, No. 13 (London: Somerset Folk Press, 1923), pp. 103-104.
4. Francis James Child, ed., *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882-98; rpt. New York: The Folklore Press, 1957), Vol. 1, pp.20-22.
5. Iona and Peter Opie, *The Oxford Book of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951), p.284.
6. Katharine M Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), Part B, Vol. 1, "The Curious Cat," pp.60-61.

7. Archer Taylor, *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1951), pp.390-392.
8. Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, First Series (London: John Camden Hotten, 1865), pp.207-225.
9. Tony Deane and Tony Shaw, *The Folklore of Cornwall.* (London: Batsford, 1975), p.29.
10. R L Tongue, *Somerset Folklore*, County Folklore, Vol. 8 (London: Folklore Society, 1965), p.106.
11. Ibid., pp.82-83.
12. Frederick Hancock, op.cit., pp.233-234.
13. S H Burton, "Exmoor of the Doones," *Exmoor*, ed. John Coleman-Cooke, National Park Guide No.8 (London: H M Stationery Office, 1974), p.64. Note that Warren Farm is to the south-west of Maddacombe, whereas Blackmore's "Warren" is "to the westward" of Wizard's Slough.
14. *A Cartulary of Buckland Priory in the County of Somerset*, ed. Rev. F W Weaver, Somerset Record Society, Vol. 25 (London: Somerset Record Society, 1909), p.121.
15. Edward T MacDermot, *The History of the Forest of Exmoor*, revised edn., (1911; rpt. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973), p.9.
16. Charles Whybrow, *Antiquary's Exmoor*, 2nd edn., revised, (Dulverton: The Exmoor Press, 1977), p.45.
17. Ibid.
18. Interestingly enough, the legend found its way into C H Poole, *The Customs, Superstitions and Legends of the County of Somerset* (1877; 2nd ed. Guernsey: Stevens-Cox, 1970), pp.76-82.
19. Cf. Rev. S Baring Gould, "Authors' Counties 2 — Devonshire: Mr Blackmore," *Atlanta: The Victorian Magazine*, No.86, November 1894(?), pp.82-91.
20. William Kirwin, "Blackmore — Creator of Proverbs," *Lore and Language*, Vol. 1, No.8, January 1973, pp.26-28.
21. Ibid., p.26. — This is undoubtedly true, and one is reminded of the apparently "synthetic" riddle with which the wizard seeks to gain power over the pilgrim in the legend of Wizard's Slough. In order to redress the balance, however, it must be stated that even a cursory reading of *Lorna Doone* reveals a sprinkling of traditional proverbs and sayings. Thus:
Ch. 23: "The crock was calling the kettle smutty."
Ch. 29: "Cut and come again."
Ch. 69: "All trades had tricks."
Ch. 74: "Laugh he who wins."
It is, moreover, worth noting that Blackmore's works are an important source of traditional proverbs for the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs.*

A13 Lore and Language 3/3, July 1980.

Whim-Whams for a Goose's Bridle: A List of Put-offs and Related forms in English and German

J B Smith

'What's wrong?'
'I've lost a boatload of sour milk'
'What? What sort of comic expression is that?'
'It's a Yiddish saying!'

Isaac Bashevis Singer
The Magician of Lublin
Chapter 7, Part 6

From my childhood in the thirties I remember a number of curious expressions with which my mother, E. S., who was born at Buxton, Derbyshire, in 1901, would counter the persistent questions to which children of a certain age appear to be dedicated. I have been aware for some time that such answers, known to folklorists and linguists as "put-offs", are an important part of oral tradition, and in "Of Whims and Whim-Whams" (*Lore and Language* 2, 9, July 1978) I briefly discussed a few of those which I had come across. Michael Parkin took up the subject in the *Guardian* of 20.11.78, and his short article, "Finding What's in a Whim-Wham", elicited numerous letters to the editor of that newspaper, while I myself received a fair number of responses from *Guardian* readers who remembered put-offs from their own childhood. Since then I have kept a look-out for put-offs, and in particular I have noted any examples I have lit upon in such works as Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Catch Phrases* and Lutz Röhrich's *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*. However, I have not been through these works systematically, nor have I made any attempt to carry out a full-scale survey of put-offs in current oral tradition.

It will be clear from the following list that the put-off is a traditional form in its own right and has much in common with other *einfache Formen*. It is for instance related to the proverb, the proverbial phrase, the threat and the riddle. The expression *Muckin' ducks wi' an elsin*, an evasive reply to the question "What are you doing?", is reminiscent of the Scottish proverb *The height o' nonsense is supping sour milk wi' an elsyn*, (*EDD* 2, 249) and the put-off *A whim-wham for a treacle-*

mill is analogous to the proverbial phrase *to make whim-whams for water-wheels*, which means "to idle away one's time" or "to do an absurd thing". (*EDD* 6, 460) J D A Widdowson has pointed out (*VSCN* 45 and 64) that put-offs and threats have a similar social function, and the fact that they may draw upon the same body of folklore can be illustrated by comparing *Oh! I reckon he lived same's Tantarobobus — all the days of his life*, an answer to a question about the age of one lately deceased, with *I'll zend vur tankerabogus tü come and cär yü away tü 'is pittee-'awl*, a threat recorded for Devonshire at the end of the last century. (*EDD* 6, 29). The put-off (perhaps more properly a catch phrase) *In his skin*, as an answer to the question "Where's so-and so?", (*DCP* 116) has much in common with the riddle *Where was Moses when the light went out? -- in the dark*, (*DCP* 249) in which the adult turns the tables on the child and asks the question. In both the adult knows the answer and preserves the mask of omniscience. (Rather significantly, one of my informants, M.P., who sent in the put-off *A wigwom for a goose's bridle*, also recollects, from the same stratum of her experience as it were, the riddle *What goes round a butt'n?* She heard the last part of this as 'a button', and knew to answer *A billy-goat* many years before she knew why this was apt.)

There are also links between the put-off and the folktale. It has for instance been shown that *The cat's eaten it (Die Katz hat es gefressen)*, an evasive answer purporting to explain the disappearance of food, is an allusion to the tale-type exemplified by the Grimms' "Clever Gretel", (*KHM* No. 77) a story which deals with the ingenious excuse devised by a greedy cook who eats the meal she is supposed to have prepared for a guest. (*LSR* 2, 493) Moreover, a link between put-offs and folk custom is suggested by the fact that in Northern Ireland April fools were sent in search of *a whim-wham for a goose's bridle*, (*EDD* 6, 460) and here one is reminded of the habit, still prevalent in industry, of sending young and inexperienced newcomers to ask for similarly insubstantial objects, such as *a glass hammer* or *rubber nails*.

Put-offs are "used in language games which emphasise the group solidarity of the adult world into which the child is as yet uninitiated", (*VSCN* 64) but at the same time they have a twofold pedagogic function. They not only indicate in a devious fashion that it may be inappropriate to inquire about certain subjects, but their general allusiveness and their formal characteristics (alliteration, apophony) divert the child's curiosity and stimulate its imagination. My informant, I.S., writes:

> Whenever I asked by father what something was and he was in a teasing mood, or did not know the answer and hadn't time to find out, or wished to blind me with science and superiority in a joking way, or, most often, considered the answer too technical for my level of understanding, he would say, "That's a wing-wong for a goose's bridle."
>
> To myself as a child "a wing-wong" definitely gave the impression of mechanical moving parts, something that could be wound up; "for a goose's bridle" opened the floodgates of imagination. It could mean something that didn't exist, like frogs' feathers or hens' teeth, or it could be something from the world of fairy-tales which might be used by the Goose Girl or Goosey Goosey Gander.

It may be argued that put-offs are "nonsensical", (Michael Parkin, *Guardian*, 14.12.78, "Mells Meaningless, Shims but a Sham") but this depends on one's definition of "nonsense". Like other traditional sayings they often preserve archaic words and ideas which must have made perfect sense in their time. *Mells* in *Mells for meddlers* may well be "blows" or "thumps", (*EDD* 4, 82) and *taties and point* (Michael Parkin, in the same article, which I have not otherwise drawn on) may refer to a time when poor people had to content themselves with pointing at a small piece of meat or butter kept at the centre of the table but considered too precious to eat. (*EDD* 4, 567f. and 6, 39) Like other traditional forms put-offs illustrate the tendency for once seriously held beliefs to be relegated to the nursery. For instance, although they are not listed below, some sayings like *We found him under the gooseberry bush* or *The stork brought him*, which are used to explain to young children the arrival of a new baby, probably reflect ancient beliefs according to which babies had their prenatal abode in trees, rocks or watery places and could be brought thence by the stork or another creature. (*FW* 10; 101; 1083 and *WDV* 443 f.)

A study of the geographical distribution of put-offs would be revealing, but it would have to be based on a thorough survey of their occurrence in oral tradition and written sources. The following list was not drawn up on the basis of systematically collected material, and the preponderance of examples from the North of England may be partly due to the fact that most of the informants are readers of the *Guardian*, a newspaper which is particularly popular among northerners, expatriate and otherwise. The fact that *Lay-overs for meddlers* and its variants appears to be common in Lancashire and N.E. Cheshire does not mean that it always was, or still is, restricted to that area, and in fact Wright's

examples (*EDD* 3, 546) show that in the nineteenth century at least the area of distribution was far wider. Put-offs of the type *A nothing* as a response to the question "What have you brought me?" appear to have been very widespread. They are recorded not only for Northern Ireland and the Midlands, but also for Germany, Switzerland, Austria and beyond, although it does seem possible to allocate certain sub-types and transitional sub-types to certain regions within this wide area of distribution, as I have tried to show below. At the same time there is presumably no reason why a particular type should not be exclusive to a particular area. For instance the evidence suggests, although it does not of course prove, that the type *It's an X for ducks to perch on* is endemic in Yorkshire and possibly Lancashire.

From the above it will be clear that the nature of the put-off and its relationship with other forms still need to be fully defined, and that its form, content function, history and distribution deserve systematic investigation. For the purposes of what follows I have assumed that it is a traditional saying used by adults to divert the curiosity and stimulate the imagination of young children. Although the catch phrase, impertinent answer, witticism and stereotype excuse do not strictly conform to this working definition, I have included examples of these where they appear to be relevant. I have also listed one or two "crooked answers" of the type used by children among themselves, but have not drawn on the numerous examples given by Iona and Peter Opie, (*LLS* 41-45 and 156-158). I have, however, excluded "expletives" in which a person who is led to ask a question is fobbed off with an answer reminiscent of the put-off. An example would be: '"Thee goa ta Fidler's Green!' 'An' wheear's that, pray thi?' *'It's ten miles tother side o' Hell Square.'*" (*EDD* 2, 348) Although they have much in common with the put-off, I have also omitted sayings like *A haporth o' thole-weel, an' a pennorth o' niver-let-on-ye-hae-it*, which was current in Northern Ireland and suggests a no doubt excellent cure for a trifling ailment. (*EDD* 6, 97)

HOW OLD ARE YOU?

The reply *Old as my little finger*, which P.F.R. (May 1979) remembers from his childhood in London and Kent in the thirties, occurs as far back as the early seventeenth century. (*ODEP* 588) *Old as my tongue and a little older than my teeth*, which was recorded by Jonathan Swift in 1738, was by c.1930 "slightly old-fashioned but far from obsolete". Compare the "predominantly feminine" reply *Old enough to know better*, which may go back to the mid-nineteenth century. (*DCP* 167).

HOW OLD WAS SO-AND-SO (LATELY DECEASED)?

In West Somerset a frequent response to such questions was *Oh! I reckon he lived same's Tantarabobus -- all the days of his life. Tantarabobus* was a name for the devil or a bogey, but also a playful nickname for any boy or man. The Cornish version was *Like tantrabobus, lived till he died*, though the protagonist could apparently also be *Tantra-bobus' cat.* (*EDD* 6, 29). According to K C Phillips the Cornish Tantara Bobus is "half-bogey-man, half archetypal fool", and his achievements include *living till he died* and *getting out of bed to see if his feet was covered up.* (*WWW* 114).

WHAT ARE YOU DOING/WHAT HAVE YOU BEEN DOING?

E M Wright gives *Muckin' ducks wi' an elsin*, but without provenance. (*RSFL* 176). *Elsin* is a Scottish and north-country word for a shoemaker's awl. (*EDD* 2, 249).

As typical replies given by "a knowing blade" to questions about what he has been doing lately, John Camden Hotten gives *Weaving leather aprons* and *I have been making a trundle for a goose's eye* or *a whim-wham to bridle a goose.* (*SD* 336 f.). Eric Partridge dates these c.1840-1940 and comments: "All were originally underworld phrases, which seem to have early become low slang." (*DCP* 237). Nevertheless, *A whim-wham for a goose's bridle*, which is closely related to Hotten's *whim-wham to bridle a goose*, also belongs very much to the nursery, as can be seen from the examples given below.

E.M.P. tells me (November 1978) that her grandmother, who died in 1973 at the age of 78, would say *Picking a quein* in reply to the question "What are you doing?" She continues: "We recently discovered from a 98-year-old man, also a Merseysider like my grandmother, that a *quein* is a shellfish." According to Wright *gwean, queen* etc., meaning "scallop" or "periwinkle", occurs only in Cornwall, other parts of the South-West, and Sussex. (*EDD* 2, 770 and 4, 674 f.)

WHAT ARE YOU KNITTING?

M.P. reports (20.11.78) that her mother, who came from Whitmore, Staffordshire, would answer this question with *A singlet for Cecil.* Perhaps the rather enigmatic proverbial expression *Knit my dog a pair of breeches and my cat a codpiece*, recorded in 1678, (*ODEP* 433) is related to a similarly evasive reply.

WHAT ARE YOU MAKING?

In S. E. Worcestershire in the late nineteenth century a mechanic who did not wish to reveal to an over-inquistitive questioner what he was making would reply *A snoffle for a duck. Snoffle* can mean "nose" or "snout". (*EDD* 5, 590).

B.C.C. writes (2.12.78): "At the turn of the century our next-door neighbour in the Lower Bristol Road, Bath, had an ironmonger's shop which I found a very exciting place. On occasions when I asked what he was making or doing with some object, the reply would be *A whim-wham for grinding smoke* . . . It may have been a Bristol expression, as he came from that city to set up his shop at Bath." One is reminded here that convicts who had to work the treadmill referred to that occupation as *grinding the wind.* (*EDD* 2, 729).

WHAT DID SUCH-AND-SUCH COST?

In N. Yorkshire in the last century the "old-fashioned rebuke quoted as a reply to an inquisitive person, who would fain know exactly what your purchase cost," was *Money and fair words.* (*EDD* 4, 149). T. C. tells me (May 1979) that during his childhood in the thirties at Claverton Down, Bath, the stock reply was *Money and good words.*

WHAT DO YOU DO FOR A LIVING?

Partridge records the "evasively pert answers" *Making dolls' eyes, Putting spots on dominoes* and *Putting holes in pikelets* (also *muffins* or *crumpets*). He allocates all three to the present century, though he regards the last as being obsolete. (*DCP* 143). When John Camden Hotten tells us that a man will sometimes describe himself as *A doll's-eye weaver,* (*DS* 337) the implication is that this is a reply to a similar type of question.

WHAT HAVE YOU BROUGHT ME/WHAT WILL YOU BRING ME?

Wright quotes *A new-nothing to hang on your sleeves* (Northamptonshire) and *A silver new-nothing to hang on your arm* (Warwickshire) as replies to this type of question. (*EDD* 4, 257). W. H. tells me (May 1979) that when he was a child at Ballymena, Co. Antrim in the fifties, his mother, a native of the same town, used to promise him *A wee nothing with a whistle on the end of it.*

It is interesting that similar expressions occur throughout the German-speaking countries. Thus the Romantic poet Brentano (1778-1842), who spent his childhood in Frankfurt, refers in a letter (1.1.1802) to *Ein silbernes Nichtschen und ein goldenes Warteweilchen* (*A silver nothing and a golden wait-a-bit*). Röhrich claims (*LSR* 3, 685) that versions such as this, which refer to a *wait-a-bit* (*Warteweilchen*), are typical of the western and north-western areas, whereas rhyming versions of the type *Ein silbernes Nichtslein in einem goldenen Büchslein* (*A silver nothing in a golden box*), in which there is no reference to a *wait-a-bit* and the *nothing* is in a box, are characteristic of the south, and in particular of the Alps, the Danube basin and the Sudetenland.

However, there appears to be a transitional zone in which the two types are combined. *E silwrisch Wart-e-Weilche un e goldisch Nixli* (*A silver wait-a-bit and a golden nothing*), which puts the *wait-a-bit* first and the *nothing* second, is said to occur throughout the whole of the Rhenish Franconian dialect area, of which Frankfurt is roughly the centre (*RNZ*). Interestingly enough, a rhyme published by Brentano and Arnim in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* in 1808 closely corresponds in its third and fourth lines to this Rhenish Franconian version, while its fourth and fifth lines faithfully follow the southern pattern: *Ich schenk dir was! / Was ist denn das? / Ein silbernes Wart-ein-Weilchen / Und ein goldnes Nixchen / In einem niemalenen Büchschen* (*KW* 841) (*I'll give you sométhing! / What is it? / A silver wait-a-bit / And a golden nothing / In a never-box*). The same elements occur in the same order (except that *silver* and *golden* are reversed) in an unrhymed version from Mudau, Odenwald, a small town which lies about 75 km. to the S.S.E. of Frankfurt and on the edge of the Rhenish Franconian area: *E goldenes Wardeweile unn e silwernes Nixle unn e Schächderle, wu mers nei(n) dud* (*MO* 220). (*A golden wait-a-bit and a silver nothing and a box to put them in*). An almost identical version, *Du kriegst ein silbern Nixle und 'n güldin Wartaweile, und 'n Schächtele, wo du's 'nein thust* (*You'll get a silver nothing and a golden wait-a-bit, and a box to put them in*) occurs around Henneberg, (*DSL* 3, 1021) which lies about 130 km. N. E. of Frankfurt, but still in the Middle German dialect zone. In Swabia, a dialect area which belongs to the southern zone as defined by Röhrich, we find a version which is apparently used as an evasive answer to the question "What's for lunch?", and which again combines the western and southern patterns: *A Nixle em e Bichsle ond a goldigs Wartaweile* (*PVSR* 48) (*A nothing in a box and a golden wait-a-bit*). Here the "southern" rhyming formula is followed

by a reference to the *golden wait-a-bit* characteristic of the west and north-west.

Finally, I think it is worth noting that the Alpine version listed by Röhrich in fact diverges somewhat from his "southern" pattern. It is *A golldis niänäwägäli und a sillberis nütali* (*A golden nowhere-coach and a silver nothing*), from Kerenz in the Swiss canton of Glarus. In Switzerland we also find a reply to questions about what St Nicholas has brought, which is an extended version of the Kerenz example and, like the Swabian version quoted above, contains a reference to the *wait-a-bit*, which Röhrich sees as characteristic of the western and north-western type: *E goldigs Nüteli, e silberigs Nienewägeli, e langs, langs Beitewile, e Wartelilang, e Hätteligern, e silberigs Nütelig'schirr mit ere herzgulden gueti Gwunderligsuppe und süessbachene Fröglinne dinn* (*DSL* 3, 1021) (*A golden nothing, a silver never-coach, a long, long wait-a-bit, a wait-long, a would-have, a silver nothing-dish of really delicious surprise-soup with question-slices baked in sugar in it*). Compare also *A silberis Eiluag im a goldina Nütili* (*A silver oh-look! in a golden nothing*), which is used in Vorarlberg, the westernmost province of Austria, as an answer to the question "What's in there?" (*WDV* 594).

The earliest known German versions of the saying are the examples recorded by Brentano at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (*LSR* 3, 685) but there are two English references from an earlier period. They are *I owe you a newe nothing to hange vppon your sleeue*, which is dated 1578, and *A fine new nothing*, recorded by Ray in 1678. (*ODEP* 564). However, as the idea of a *nothing* is central to all the versions listed here, both English and German, it may be that they are descended from a common ancestor of far greater antiquity.

WHAT HAVE YOU GOT IN THE CART THERE?

Wright quotes the following exchange from a N. Kent source of 1887: " 'What have ye got in the cart there?' *'Oh! only a load of post-holes.'* " (*EDD* 4, 590). This is reminiscent of shaggy dog stories like "The Man Who Collected Holes" (*DBFT* A2, 174f.), of the Sussex character Jimmy Smuggles, who taught some workmen to lift a hole over a wall (*FS* 156), and of Thompson's Motif X1761: Absurd disregard of the nature of holes. (*MIFL*).

WHAT'S FOR THE NEXT MEAL?

A Somerset source of 1922 (*SYB* 32) records *Rasher of wind* as a sarcastic answer to questions such as "What's for dinner?" B.P. tells me (April 1979) that during his childhood at Cudworth, Somerset, the standard answer to such questions was *A rasher of wind and a fried snowball.* To importunate questions about the menu of the next meal my mother used to reply: *Bees' knee-caps, Gnats' eyebrows, Something /A pudding you've never had before, Bread and pullet*(= 'pull it'). The first of these expressions is reminiscent of *as big as a bee's knee,* which was current in the Midlands in the nineteenth century and meant "trifling" or "insignificant", (*EDD* 1, 219) while Wright records *bread and pull it* for Staffordshire and Worcestershire, and glosses it "dry bread" (*EDD* 1, 387). While the expression was used jokingly in my family, and no doubt elsewhere, it probably harks back to times when poorer families could expect no more than the most frugal of diets. In this it resembles *Taties and point,* which now appears to be a put-off (Michael Parkin, *Guardian,* 14.12.78), but formerly referred in Scotland, the north country and W. Somerset to a dish consisting of potatoes accompanied by a small piece of meat or some other delicacy that was merely to be pointed at. (*EDD* 6, 39. See also *EDD* 4, 567 f. on *bread/potatoes and point).*

Occasionally phrases which occur more commonly in reply to other types of question are also used as answers to inquiries about the next meal and its preparation. M. B. reports for instance (19.11.78) that when during her childhood in Bradford, Yorkshire, she used to ask what was cooking in the oven, her mother would reply *Whim-whams for ducks to peak upon in the winter weather* (see below), and the use of the Swabian *A Nixle em a Bichsle ond a goldigs Wartaweile (A nothing in a box and a golden wait-a-bit)* as an answer to questions about the next meal has already been discussed. Other Swabian replies to the same sort of inquiry are *Eigmachte Kellerschtaffle (Pickled cellar steps),* *Brägelte Rotz em a Däpperle (Roast snot in a pot)* and *Mausschwänzle en Schelee (Mouse tails in jelly).* (*PVSR* 48). Röhrich gives non-dialectal versions of the first of these, together with *Alte Neugierde mit Butter gebraten (Old curiosity fried in butter)* and the Upper Saxon *Einen Topf im anderen und Topflappen dazwischen, damit nichts anbrennt (One saucepan in another, and saucepan-holders in between so nothing burns).* (*LSR* 2, 503)

WHAT SHALL I DO? See WHERE SHALL I SIT?

WHAT'S HAPPENED?

In Cheshire *The old brown cow laid an egg* was "used as an answer to importunate questioners", especially, one imagines, when they asked "What's happened?" or "What's wrong?" (*ODEP* 588). E M Wright quotes the analogous expression *The Dutch have taken Holland.* (*RSFL* 176). Partridge refers to this as a mid seventeenth-century to early eighteenth-century prototype of the proverbial *Queen Anne's dead.* (*DCP* 55). This can be traced back to 1722 and may be compared with a variant noted by Swift in 1738: "What news, Mr Neverout. — Why, madam, *Queen Elizabeth's dead.*" (*ODEP* 659).

WHAT'S THAT?

Among the most evocative of the answers to persistent questions such as "What's that?" is *A wigwam for a goose's bridle.* E.M.P. reports (November 1978) that the expression was used by her grandmother, a Merseysider, who died in 1973 at the age of seventy eight. G.P.B. tells me (November 1978) that his wife's father (1889-1968), a New Zealander, would use it in response to questions from his daughters up to the ages of about ten, and N.W. of North Leach, Gloucestershire, informs me (November 1978) that her husband frequently heard the reply from his father in New Zealand, and still answers his own son in the same way. M. P., who was born in Australia, informs me (20.11.78) that she remembers hearing the version *A wigwom for a goose's bridle* from her mother and other relations, who originally came from Whitmore, Staffs. I. C. (20.11.78 and 1.1.79), who was born in Brisbane in 1939, often heard the version *That's a wing-wong for a goose's bridle* from her father, who was a second-generation Australian, and says that her old nursery-rhyme books show Mother Goose astride a flying goose wearing a bridle. It has already been mentioned that in N. Ireland April fools were sent in search of *A whim-wham for a goose's bridle* and that Hotten lists *I have been making a whim-wham to bridle a goose* as an answer to the question "What have you been doing lately?"

Not only geese, but also ducks are in some mysterious way connected with wigwams and whim-whams. C. E. reports (*Guardian* letter, 25.11.78, and letter of 11.12.78) that his grandfather was familiar with the expression *It's a wigwam for ducks to peck on* when he was a boy in Pudsey about 1915, and that it is still in common use in Leeds and

the surrounding area. M. J. C. tells me (November 1978) that the version he used to hear from his father at Headingley, Leeds, in the thirties was *It's a shim-sham for ducks to peak on*. M.B. (19.11.78) remembers *Whim-whams for ducks to peak upon in the winter weather* from her childhood in Bradford, Yorkshire, when her mother would use it as a response to questions about what was cooking in the oven (see above). K.J. (23.11.78) records the version *A whim-wham for ducks to peark on*, which was used by her mother at Huddersfield in the thirties, and B.F. (*Guardian* letter, 25.11.78) refers to his early acquaintance with *Whim-whams for ducks to peark on* in the North Riding. He continues: "Many years later, in Northants., I discovered that a whim-wham was an ancient device used at flour mills for grading flour. It was built like a helter-skelter; flour poured in at the top [and was] separated on the way down by the centrifugal force generated. Flour mills tended to be water-powered; ducks are interested in water and grain; the equation seems complete. The problem is, how can a duck peark on anything?" — One might reply that the inability of ducks to perch has long been a source of humour in Yorkshire and Lancashire, as will be shown by a perusal of Wright's entries under the headword *perk*, which with its variants *peak*, *peark* etc. means "to perch" (*EDD* 4, 174 f.)

It is of course dangerous to attribute a Northamptonshire meaning to what appears to be a predominantly Yorkshire expression, but it is interesting that a spiral device for separating flour by centrifugal force should be called a *whim-wham*, since this is a further instance of the word suggesting rotation (see my article in *Lore and Language* 2, 9). In Lakeland the word referred to a toy water-wheel, and in Lancashire to a child's windmill. (*EDD* 6, 460). E.L. of Hazel Grove, Stockport, who was born and bred in Cheshire, describes (27.11.78) what appears to be another version of the same toy: "I can only describe it as somewhat similar to one of the beaters on a small electric cake-mixer, except that the head was round in shape, and one pushed up a small lever on the side of the metal stem, which revolved the thin metal bands of the sphere."

Other put-offs containing references to wigwams and whim-whams are *A wim-wom for a mustard-mill* (Warwickshire), *A whim-wham for a treacle-mill* (Nottinghamshire), *A whim-wham from Yocketon* (Cheshire), *A whim-wham to wind the sun up* (S. Cheshire) (*EDD* 4, 460) and *A wigwam to wind the sun up with*, which was used by my mother, who came from Buxton, Derbyshire. P.P. writes (22.11.78) that during his childhood outside Liverpool in the twenties and early

thirties his mother would say *It's whim-whams to wind up the moon*. and C.M. of Croxley Green, Hertfordshire, reports (20.11.78) a similar expression, *It's a whim-wham to wind up the moon*, used by her father, who was born in Essex in 1918. She continues: "My father first used that expression with reference to a very long pole he possessed — I still don't know what for — which to my gullible four-year-old eyes could conceivably have been used for just such a purpose. This inflated my estimation of my father's importance. Disillusionment comes with age, and now I am aware not only that the moon was not wound up by my father, but that the expression wasn't even original!" *A whim-wham for grinding smoke* has already been referred to above as an answer to the question "What are you making?", but it could conceivably be used as a reply to "What's that?". N.P.C. (29.11.78), of Wexford, Eire, who is now in his eighties, remembers his mother saying *A whim-wham for a windmill* when she wished to give an evasive reply. At this point it is worth recording a rather obscure expression which is not strictly a put-off: J.F. (*Guardian* letter, 1.12.78) writes that if during her childhood in Coventry her father wanted to indicate that something was a safe bet he would say *It's a wigwam to a wowser*. E.O. (20.11.78), who is fifty-six and hails from Chorley, Lancashire, recalls her mother using the saying *Wigwam for meddlers* when she wanted to fob her children off.

This brings us to a whole series of put-offs in which the phrase *for meddlers* occurs. M.H. (*Guardian* letters, 23.11.78) says that constant questioning would provoke her mother, a native of Sheffield, to reply *Shim-shams*, which would in extremities be lengthened to *Shim-shams for meddlers*. Wright glosses *shimsham* (Lincolnshire, Herefordshire) "useless talk, foolish conversation; nonsense", and records the put-off *Shim-shams for meddlers* for S.E. Lincolnshire. (*EDD* 5, 386). He also gives *Rare overs for meddlers* (Ireland) and *rare o's for meddlers* (Norfolk, Kent). (*EDD* 5, 41). D.M.B. of Sutton Coldfield (*Guardian* letters, 11.12.78) records *Mells for meddlers*. *Mell* is a mallet, and hence a blow with a mallet or any heavy weapon. (*EDD* 4, 82).

The expression *Lay-overs for meddlers* or *Lay-overs to catch meddlers*, in which *lay-overs* and its variants mean "thumps or some kind of corporal punishment", seems to have been particularly common in Yorkshire, Lancashire, the Midlands and even further afield in the nineteenth century. (*EDD* 3, 546). Partridge also gives *Lay horses for meddlers* for Westmorland, and traces *Lareovers for meddlers* back to c.1698. (*DCP* 134). Several versions of these expressions appear still to be known in Lancashire and Cheshire. Thus *Leos for meddlers* (G.K.C.

Guardian letters, 5.12.78) are recorded for Oldham, and *Lay-o'ers for meddlers* (R.S., *Guardian* letters, 6.12.78) for Salford. D.C. recalls *It's a lay 'orse to catch meddlers* from his childhood near Preston (*Guardian* letters, 11.12.78), and E.L. of Hazel Grove, Cheshire (27.11.78), who was born and brought up in that county, remembers her mother saying *It's layos for meddlers and crutches for lame ducks.* A similar expression, *Layovers for meddlers, and crutches for lame ducks,* was current in Ireland in the nineteenth century. (*EDD* 5, 41). Compare *Crutches for meddlers and legs for lame ducks.* (*DCP* 39). B.B. of Wrexham, Clwyd, (*Guardian* letters, 13.12.78) remembers his mother saying *Mud 'oles for meddlers and crutches for lame ducks,* while T.H.W. recalls a longer version, *Leos for meddlers, crutches for lame ducks, and a whim-wham to wind up the sun.* This was used by his mother, who came from Salford. (*Guardian* letters,.30.11.78).

B.B. notes that when she was in a hurry, his mother would also say *Dolls' eyes and watercress,* and this conveniently brings us on to a small number of miscellaneous expressions. To *A whim-wham for a wind-mill,* noted above, N.P.C. of Wexford, Eire, adds *A thing for a gate* and *An ootle-antle to catch blatherskites.* It would no doubt be as futile to seek an etymology for *ootle-antle* as it would to hypothesize about the origin of *Trinamanoose,* once current in the West Midlands, "a delusive expression used as an answer to a child that asks a question relating to some object, the nature or true name of which is unfit for him to learn". (*EDD* 6, 238).

WHAT TIME IS IT?

L.C. recalls (July 1979) that in the sixties, at a primary school in Portadown, Co. Armagh, a child who was asked the time and did not possess a watch would scrutinize his or her left wrist for a moment and then answer *Two freckles past a hair.* Strictly speaking this is less a put-put-off than what the Opies term a "crooked answer". (*LLS* 41 ff.)

WHERE DID THAT COME FROM?

An Oxfordshire retort was apparently *I got it from Binsey treacle-mine.* (*RSFL* 176). It is interesting that in Monmouthshire in the twenties treacle mines also played a part in a custom reminiscent of the April Fool's trick. D Parry-Jones tells us that new boys at Monmouth Grammar School were sent to Trelleck, which lies about four miles to the south, to look for the Treacle Mines. Before they started off they were told how over the centuries the wild bees had made their honey in

the crevices of the rock, and how this had gradually percolated through into the mines or caves underneath. Here each lad could allegedly fill the glass jar with which he had been supplied. (*WCGP* 133 f.) The inland hamlet of Tregonetha in Cornwall is credited with a harbour and treacle mines in local lore (*WWW* 113) and at Worthing in Sussex it is said of a man who has no obvious means of livelihood and is suspected of being a scrounger: *He works at Sompting Treacle Mine.* (*FS* 156).

WHERE DO YOU LIVE?

Partridge gives *Within a mile of an oak,* which was current from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century. He explains that in the late sixteenth century oaks were so plentiful in England that most country people did in fact live within a mile of one. (*DCP* 254).

WHERE SHALL I SIT?

In 1894 Northall noted that a reply to a child that continually said "Where shall I sit?" was *Sit on your thumb till more room do come* (*ODEP* 738). From my own childhood I remember *Sit on your thumb* as a response to tedious questions such as "What shall I do now?" Compare the catch phrase *Nothing that you oughtn't,* a reply to similar questions. (*DCP* 162).

WHERE'S HE GONE?

A North Lincolnshire reply to such questions was *He's gone to Botn'y Baay and theäre he maay staay.* (*EDD* 1, 350 f.) A still common response is of course *To see a man about a dog,* which has become a catch phrase with various implications. (*DCP* 102 and 187). Compare the jocular variant *To see a dog about a man.* (*DCP* 187).

WHERE IS SO-AND-SO/SUCH-AND-SUCH?

The response *In his skin* is properly a catch phrase, and can be traced back to 1566. (*DCP* 116). A widespread German answer to questions about the whereabouts of some object is *Die Katz hat es gefressen* (*The cat's eaten it*). The same expression is also traditionally used as an excuse, for instance by a child who has stolen a titbit, and in Alsace the traditional reply is *Ja, die wu zween Füeß hatt,* (*Yes, the one with two feet*). This expression, which occurs in much the same form in a fifteenth century source, alludes to the well-known tale (*TF,* Type 1741) of how a greedy cook eats the meal she is supposed to serve, but

cleverly avoids the blame. (*LSR* 2, 493). An English analogue, of which a version was recorded by Jonathan Swift in 1738, is *The cat's eaten it. — Yes, a cat with two legs.* (*DCP* 258).

In these examples the put-off merges with the stereotype excuse, of which *It come off in me 'and, ma'am* and *It was broke already, mum* (*DCP* 119) are less ambivalent instances.

WHICH WAY TO SUCH-AND-SUCH A PLACE?

A poke full of plums is an "impertinent reply" (*DCP* 175) rather than a put-off in the strict sense of the word. The earliest instance apparently dates back to 1542, and the latest to 1666. (*ODEP* 883).

WHY?

A put-off to countless parents is of course *Because Y's a crooked letter and Z's no better.* (N.L., November 1978). I am familiar with the version *Y's a crooked letter and you're not much better* from my own childhood. -- I can remember thinking at the age of about six that the second clause was a reference to the fact that I had only partially recovered from a recent illness.

Rather similar is a German rhyme published in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* in 1808: *Warum? /Darum./ Warum denn darum? /Um die Krumm./ Warum denn um die Krum? / Weil's nicht grad ist!* (*KW* 837). This may be freely translated: "*What for? / For a reason. / What reason? / For going round the corner. / Why round the corner? / Because it isn't straight.*"

WHY DID YOU DO THAT?

E. M. Wright records *For fun and fancy, because Bob kissed Nancy,* (*RSFL* 176) but does not give the provenance of the expression.

WHY DON'T YOU GET MARRIED?

When he was still a bachelor, my uncle, N.E.G., who was born and spent his whole life (1906-1975) at Buxton, Derbyshire, used to answer the question "Why don't you get married?" by saying *I would, but they don't marry odd ones.* By this he meant that one person by himself (an *odd one*) can obviously not form an alliance without there being a suitable and willing partner, but the play on the meaning "eccentric" brings a hint of self-deprecation and thus increases the humour. Compare *This maid was born odd,* an expression recorded by Ray in 1678. It was used of a maid who lived to be old and could not get a husband. (*ODEP* 499).

WILL YOU PLAY WITH ME?

To unreasonable requests of this kind my mother would reply saying *I can't. I've got a bone in my leg. To have a bone in one's arm/leg* occurs in various collections of proverbs from c.1640 onwards, and Ray comments in 1678: "This is a pretended excuse, whereby people abuse young children when they are importunate to have them do something, or reach something for them, that they are unwilling to do, or that is not good for them." (*DPE* 58).

Notes

The following abbreviations have been used. In this key each is set against a number which refers to one of the works listed below.

DBFT	= 3	*MO*	= 7
DCP	= 15	*ODEP*	= 20
DPE	= 22	*PVSR*	= 23
DSL	= 24	*RNZ*	= 9
EDD	= 27	*RSFL*	= 26
FS	= 18	*SD*	= 6
FW	= 8	*SYB*	= 10
KIIM	= 5	*TF*	= 1
KW	= 2	*VSCN*	= 25
LLS	= 11	*WCGP*	= 14
LSR	= 17	*WDW*	= 4
MIFL	= 21	*WWW*	= 16

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Proverbial Sayings from the North Midlands and South-West of England

In the last issue of JLDS Graham Shorrocks urges us to collect examples of dialect usage which reflect the lore and culture of dialect speakers.[1] Among the types of tradition he refers to are cures, weather saws, superstitions, nicknames, sayings and rhymes which accompany games, threats, put-offs, forms of address, proverbs and proverbial phrases. Certainly there remains much to be recorded and investigated here, both in dialect and colloquial usage, as I have tried to show in the following list of sayings and rhymes from the North Midlands and South-West of England. All the examples are from my own first-hand experience, and from oral rather than written sources. Many are not to be found in the standard works of reference, and although I have concentrated on proverbs, proverbial phrases and some of the other categories mentioned by Graham Shorrocks, by including various other types of saying and rhyme I have tried to give some idea not only of the scope of oral tradition, but also of the difficulties involved in classifying its numerous manifestations.

In spite of the work of Iona and Peter Opie the odd nursery rhyme still remains uncollected. When we were children and couldn't go out to play because it was raining, a rhyme which always cheered us up was: The rain is falling very fast,/ We can't go out to play;/ So clap, clap, clap your hands/ Upon this rainy day. If one of us woke up in a bad mood, my mother would say, He's got a black dog on his back.[2] She would chase us to the garden gate, thumping our backs to remove the black dog, and believe it or not, this was a remedy which always

worked. If on the other hand we were particularly 'sharp' one morning, and gave clever or pert answers to everything, the stock response would be: You must have slept in the knife-box.[3] If we were slow in getting ready for school we were said to be as slow as daub, and if we combed our hair carelessly the parting was said to be as straight as a dog's hind leg. A boy who showed off his bicepses would be told that they were like knots in cotton, and anything small or insignificant was like a pea on a chicken's lip.

A good many sayings were concerned with the preparation and eating of food. Questions like 'What's for dinner?' would be parried with some such put-off as Something you've never had before. If on the other hand we were asked what we'd like for the next meal we might answer 'Anything', to which the response would be Anything's pancakes. At the beginning of a meal my maternal grandfather would say Set agate,[4] and if there were guests present he might say, rather disconcertingly, Make yourselves at home; and if you aren't at home you ought to be.[5] If a knife was blunt the saying would be It wouldn't cut butter.[6] Meat which was easy to cut in spite of the knife was said to be as tender as a woman's smile, and a kind of currant cake was known as cut-and-come-again cake.[7] If something needed eating up we would be urged to have a second helping to show there's no ill-feeling, but if we consumed some delicacy too voraciously the reaction would be It's like feeding donkeys on strawberries.

A good many sayings reflect opinions about how children should be brought up and taught to behave. Feeling that she

had in some way enjoyed a better upbringing than the rest of the children in the family, my mother's eldest sister would taunt them by saying: You weren't brought up, you were dragged up.[8] If someone dared to say 'I don't care' in the presence of my mother's father, the rejoinder would be Don't care was made to care,[9] and if a child referred to one of his elders as 'she' instead of using her proper name, She's the cat's mother[10] would be the inevitable response. When grown-ups were talking in the presence of a child they would remind each other to avoid delicate subjects by saying Little pigs have big ears.[11] If a child was given a present of money he would be told Don't let it burn a hole in your pocket,[12] and a general maxim was Never a lender or a borrower be.[13] Some of these sayings might be said to reflect a rather stern attitude to children, but sympathy and encouragement could also be expressed in a traditional form. For instance a child who was unhappy because he was smaller than his peers might be told They don't pack diamonds in packing cases, and one who had been worsted in an argument might be advised Take fire into the enemy camp.

Love and marriage naturally play an important part in tradition, and from her childhood my mother remembers the following oracle: Ivy, ivy do I pluck,/ In my bosom I thee put./ The first young man that I do see/ My true love is sure to be.[14] Older children who were on the look-out for a spouse would meet with the exhortation: Marry for love, but love where a little bit of money is, and on being asked why he didn't take a wife, an eligible bachelor might reply: Well, I would, but they don't marry odd ones.[15] When he finally

took the plunge and in due course the news was spread that he had become a father, the traditional question would be: Is it a lad or a child?[16]

A list like the above, which is by no means exhaustive, gives the impression that traditional family life had a saying for every conceivable situation, and that proverbs in particular played an important part in guiding and admonishing the young, helping older people to cope with all the eventualities of day-to-day existence, and generally oiling the wheels of human intercourse. Some of the proverbial sayings I remember, such as A change is as good as a rest and A little help is worth a deal of pity, may be common, but they are not in the Oxford Book of English Proverbs. Others are variants of examples listed in that work or elsewhere. For instance, Proffered advice stinks is a variation of Proffered service stinks,[17] When in doubt, wait occurs in Cheshire as When in doubt, do nowt,[18] and More rain, more rest is a cross between Some rain, some rest and the Cornish proverb More rain, more rest; more water will suit the ducks best.[19] The saying that if streaks of snow are left in the fields in late winter or early spring More will come to fetch it away is recorded in a fuller form by Wright: There's a lot of old snowbones left; I reckon more will come to fetch the old away.[20] You never hear of the chicken scratching for the old hen, a proverbial reference to the ingratitude of children, occurs at Thornton, near Bradford, as It isn't often t'kitten takes a mouse to t'owd cat.[21]

All the examples I have given so far belong to the repertory of my mother, who was born at Buxton, Derbys., in 1901 and lived

there until her marriage in 1926, but a few of the sayings I can remember were current in the community at Kingsley Holt, North Staffs., where I grew up in the thirties. From high ground near that village you can see the Wrekin, some thirty-five miles to the south-west, on a clear day, and if someone had been a long way in search of something, the saying would be that he had been all round the Wrekin[22] to look for it. A piece of doggerel helped us to remember the date of the local wakes, which were traditionally celebrated with gooseberry pie in our family and no doubt elsewhere: Midsummer Day come early or late,/ The Sunday before is Kingsley Wakes.[23] ('Early or late' refers to the day of the week here.) Children who tried to allay the pain of a nettle sting would rub the affected part of the body with a dock leaf while intoning Dock in, nettle out,[24] a saying that goes back to Chaucer's day. A boy would address a companion of the same age as surrie, which is a variant of the archaic sirrah,[25] but if he made the mistake of addressing an older boy in a peremptory fashion the threatening reply might be: I've got a handle to my name. Use it![26] If we stayed out late and a punishment awaited us at home, a friendly neighbour might say: If I were you I'd throw my cap in first. This is reminiscent of the saying: If you want to see if you are welcome in a house, throw your hat in first. If your hat is not thrown out, you are welcome.[27]

One of our favourite games, which kept us out playing till dusk and after, was 'Dolly-on-a-Mopstick', the standard name of which is apparently 'Hi Cockalorum' or 'Bung the Barrel'.[28] Having mounted the backs of their opponents, the attacking side would have to remain seated without touching the ground,

while chanting Dolly-on-a-mopstick, one, two, three three times in succession. One indoor game, which rather resembled 'Buff',[29] was 'Mouldy Cheese', in which one child had without laughing to give the answer Mouldy cheese to whatever question he was asked. Rhymes on children's names were of course common. I can remember John, John, put your trousers on and Charlie, Charlie, chuck, chuck, chuck/ Went to bed with three white ducks./ One died, Charlie cried./ Charlie, Charlie, chuck, chuck, chuck.[30]

The sayings of people from outside one's own part of the country can of course be particularly striking because of their novelty, although they may seem commonplace to those who use them. An example would be He bats his wings a long time before he flies,[31] which a Scottish lady used to say of her husband, who tended to ruminate long before making an important decision. However, in what follows I should like to give a couple of examples from the South-West of England, both of which I collected while carrying out fieldwork for the European Linguistic Atlas.

In discussing the well-known nursery rhyme Cock a doodle doo!/ My dame has lost her shoe . . . Iona and Peter Opie tell us that to 'mocke the cockes' by giving words to their crowing was a common game among children in Elizabethan times.[32] One might add that in other cultures words were given not only to the crowing of cocks and the calls of other creatures,[33] but also to the characteristic sounds of inanimate objects.[34] Still common in English are Go back, go back, which echoes the call of the grouse, A little bit of bread and no cheese,

which is said to represent the song of the yellow-hammer, and Pretty Dick, pretty Dick, which we as children were taught to repeat after the thrush.[35] The following mock dialogue between two cocks, which was told me by an informant[36] from Iron Acton, Avon, is interesting not only as an example of onomatopoeia, but also as a piece of social comment: First cock: The missus is maestur 'ere./ Second cock: And so they be everywheere!

A retired farmer[37] from Sticklepath near Okehampton, Devon, told me that when as a young man he used to go out to cut peat in the part of Dartmoor near Okement Hill and Cranmere Pool, the old people would say: Well, he's gone out Uggaton (=Okement) today along of Benjy Gear, bindin' zan' (= sand), an' 'e got to make beans of the same. My informant explained that a bean is a twist of straw used to tie up sheaves, and that to sheave sand in this way is of course impossible. But neither he nor any of the other local inhabitants knew who Benjy Gear was. Benjamin Gayer was in fact a seventeenth-century mayor of Okehampton who, having embezzled some funds with which he had been entrusted, died with a guilty conscience. Local legend had it that his restless spirit was banished by twenty-three clergymen to Cranmere Pool, where it was condemned to make trusses or bonds of sand until the Day of Judgement[38] — a fate, incidentally, which is said to be shared by the ghosts of numerous other westcountry malefactors.[39]

Often we fail to recognize the traditional nature of sayings, either because they seem commonplace, or because they sound so original that we think they must have been coined by our interlocutor. Nevertheless, each instance detected

and recorded can tell us something about the distribution and history of the type it represents. Often this will have survived intact over the centuries and throughout the area in which it was first recorded, but equally often there will be interesting variations through space and time. It's blowing enough to wim taters,[40] which I heard at Kingston, Dorset, and assumed to be restricted to that area, turns up in Oxfordshire as to blow enough to winnow taters,[41] while the variant to blow the horns off the kye occurs in Antrim.[42] It's lovely weather for ducks is presumably the contemporary equivalent of We haue had . . . Weather, meete to sette paddockes abroode in,[43] which was recorded in 1546, and the ell of Give him an inch and he'll take an ell[44] has generally been replaced by mile. As often as not a saying will be eroded over the years: my family's pronouncement on something disappointingly small or insignificant used to be You could put it in your eye, which appears to be an abbreviated version of You may put it in your eye and see no worse for it.[45] But sometimes one comes across an extended version of a recorded saying.[46] Thus in my mother's family Circumstances alter cases occurred as Circumstances alter cases/ Same as noses alter faces,[47] and Patience is a virtue took the form of a rhyme: Patience is a virtue,/ Possess it if you can./ 'Tis seldom found in women/ And never in a man.

Alongside these examples in which the form varies but the meaning remains roughly the same we note instances in which roughly the same form can have different meanings. You have made a hand like a foot seems traditionally to have meant that someone's handwriting was poor,[48] but to have a hand

like a foot[49] can also mean to have a poor hand at cards. As big as a bee's knee was a traditional phrase meaning 'trifling' or 'insignificant',[50] but in recent usage That's the bee's knees suggested 'the very peak of perfection or the ultimate in beauty, attractiveness, desirability'.[51] As a proverbial saying He could eat me without salt means 'He hates me mortally',[52] but as a catch phrase on the lips of some eligible young lady it means that someone loves her madly.[53]

Although there are subtle differences between proverbial saying and catch phrase, it might be argued that they are rather similar in form and function. Both are ready-made and invariable, both often use striking images to comment on human affairs, though the former may sometimes be didactic where the latter tends to be slangy and irreverent.[54] Similarly there can be links between proverbial sayings and other forms. The proverb You may poke a man's fire, after you've known him seven years, but not before[55] is obviously related to the superstition, still half believed in by older members of my family, that if you allow a guest to poke your fire you are sure to quarrel with him, and in the note on Benjy Gear above I have tried to illustrate the link between proverbial saying and local legend.

My last example will demonstrate the connection between traditional saying and popular custom.[56] — A Dorset thatcher told me that if someone borrowed a scythe or other implement the owner would say Pay your coat, and expect to receive some small payment in return. In fact, as I discovered later, this

was a distorted reference to a half-forgotten custom, and the colt (not coat) was traditionally a fine or footing which a novice who entered upon some employment paid to his new companions.[57] — No doubt the next generation will have completely forgotten Pay your colt, along with dozens of other sayings which were part and parcel of a way of life that has all but disappeared.

1. Graham Shorrocks, "Local Traditions -- Things to Collect," Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 28 (1979), 11 - 15.

2. Cf. William George Smith, comp., The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 64.
(= ODEP)

3. Cf. Joseph Wright, ed., The English Dialect Dictionary, 6 vols. (1898 - 1905; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 3, 475.
(= EDD)

4. EDD, 1, 25 f.

5. German dialects have strikingly similar expressions, the regional distribution of which has been investigated. See Lutz Röhrich, Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten (Freiburg: Herder, 1977), 1, 30.

6. ODEP, p. 432, lists It is a good knife, it will cut butter when it is melted/ it was made at Dull-edge/ it was made five miles beyond Cutwell.

7. ODEP, pp. 162 f., lists Cut and come again as a proverb.

8. Cf. EDD, 2, 153.

9. A fuller, rhyming, version, used as a 'juvenile corrective', is quoted by Iona and Peter Opie, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 50.
(= LLS)

10. Cf. Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Catch Phrases (London:

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 189.
(= DCP)

11. ODEP, p. 471, gives Little pitchers have great ears. The German counterpart is Kleine Kessel haben große Ohren, but there are variants in which Kessel (= 'vessels') is replaced by the name of some creature, such as gnat or mouse. See Lutz Röhrich and Wolfgang Mieder, Sprichwort (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977), p. 62.

12. Cf. The Oxford English Dictionary (1933; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 1, 1190.
(= OED)

13. Cf. Shakespeare, Hamlet, 1, iii, 75: "Neither a borrower nor a lender be."

14. Cf. LLS, p. 337.

15. Cf. This maid was born odd, "spoken of a maid who lives to be old, and cannot get a husband," ODEP, p. 499.

16. Cf. EDD, 1, 583.

17. ODEP, pp. 648 f.

18. ODEP, p. 200.

19. ODEP, pp. 662 and 544 respectively.

20. EDD, 5, 596.

21. D. McKelvie, "Proverbs and Proverb-Collecting," Lore and Language, 1, 2 (January, 1970), p. 5.

22. Cf. All friends round the Wrekin, ODEP, p. 290.

23. EDD, 6, 363 refers to some of the dishes traditionally eaten at various wakes.

24. LLS, p. 62; ODEP, p. 402.

25. EDD, 5, 447.

26. Cf. OED, 5, 64.

27. Loreto Todd, "County Tyrone Folk-Beliefs," Lore and Language, 1, 7 (July, 1972), p. 13.

28. For a full description of this game and a discussion of many of its regional and foreign names see Iona and Peter Opie, Children's Games in Street and Playground (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 255 - 261.

29. For 'Buff' see Iona and Peter Opie, eds., The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 104 f.
(= ODNR)

30. Cf. LLS, pp. 159 f.

31. J. G., born Innerleithen, Peebles, about 1910.

32. ODNR, p. 129.

33. Translated examples of Irish rhymes are for instance given by David Thompson, The People of the Sea (London: Turnstile Press, 1954), pp. 78 f.

34. Examples for German are to be found in the story "Der Zaunkönig",

No. 171 in Brüder Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen (Munich: Winkler, 1976), pp. 715 - 717.

35. Other English examples are given in E. M. Wright, Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), pp. 310 f.

36. F. S., born 1905, 17. 8. 77. He heard it from an old man at Frampton Cotterell.

37. P. B. of South Zeal, born about 1910, 13. 4. 77.

38. Ralph Whitlock, The Folklore of Devon (London: Batsford, 1977), pp. 54 f.

39. EDD, 1, 206.

40. On 24. 9. 76, from P. L., born 1945.

41. EDD, 6, 511.

42. EDD, 1, 309.

43. ODEP, p. 875.

44. ODEP, p. 303.

45. EDD, 2, 271. Thematically related are Better fill a man's belly than his eye and The eye is bigger than the belly, ODEP, pp. 53 and 235 respectively.

46. ODEP, p. 124.

47. ODEP, p. 613.

48. ODEP, p. 346.

49. Thus used in my experience by J. L., born Paisley about 1880.

50. EDD, 1, 219.

51. DCP, p. 22.

52. ODEP, p. 214.

53. DCP, p. 98.

54. See DCP, p. xi, on such categories as proverbial saying, catch phrase, cliché and quotation.

55. ODEP, p. 637.

56. W. T. of Beaminster, born 1900, 21. 9. 78.

57. EDD, 1, 703.

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'where his impulses might lead him' is to miss the seriousness of Meister's underlying urge always impelling him on. In vol. 2, p. 48 the two sets of three adjectives in the second paragraph have got mixed up. Then surely 'Dunkelheit' (vol. 2, p. 52) here means 'ignorance' not 'obscurity', 'treffend' (vol. 2, p. 56) means 'accurate' not 'striking', 'Mutwille' (vol. 2, p. 56) 'mischief' rather than 'petulance', and 'hätte mir damals ein Dichter zweckmässig beigestanden' (vol. 2, p. 58) means 'given me practical help' not 'stood by me at that time for appropriate purposes', and 'sich in in die Welt zu schicken' (vol. 2, p. 61) means not a stoical 'putting up with things' but a flexible 'knowing how to adapt oneself'. In vol. 2, p. 62 the arithmetical image for life is ruined: '[die Summe] niemals rein aufgehe' means 'the sum never comes out exactly' not 'goes out completely'. In vol. 2, p. 64 'verstellt' means 'hypocritical', not 'distorted', and 'unterrichten' (vol. 2, p. 65) means 'instruct', not 'entertain'. In Book 5, chapter 2 (vol. 2, p. 76f) the third and fourth paragraphs are confused, and in Book 5, chapter 9 (vol. 2, p. 100) 'not' is twice omitted, making nonsense of the whole paragraph. The poems are variably translated, sometimes moderately well, sometimes badly, occasionally appallingly, when Goethe's rhythm especially suffers badly: 'upon my own' (vol. 1, p. 120), for example, is an impossible phrase except for parody; the rendering of 'es brennt / Mein Eingeweide' as 'there is a burning / In my inner being' (vol. 2, p. 38) is hardly suitable; to write lines such as 'Before whose lances bold / Foes' lances split in fights' (vol. 1, p. 114), whatever the need for a rhyme, is, to say the least, slack. Since translating poetry is such a difficult art, would it not have been better if the translator had either paraphrased the poems or farmed them out to somebody else?

All in all this translation is unfortunately neither as accurate nor as stylish as it should have been to do justice to the great original.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH DEREK BOWMAN

DER UNBEKANNTE BRUDER GRIMM: DEUTSCHE SAGEN VON FERDINAND PHILIPP GRIMM. Edited by Gerd Hoffmann and Heinz Rölleke. Düsseldorf and Cologne, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1979. 144 pp. 3 424 00659 9. DM19.80.

Over the last few years Heinz Rölleke has contributed much to a new understanding of the brothers Grimm and the sources from which they drew their Kinder- und Hausmärchen. With Gerd Hoffmann, Rölleke has now made the first attempt of its kind to throw light on the life and work of Ferdinand Philipp Grimm (1788-1845). Although he shared many of the interests and talents of Jacob and Wilhelm, who were his seniors by only a few years, and set out to earn his living

by his pen, for reasons that will probably never be fully revealed Ferdinand became the black sheep of the family and was condemned to an obscure existence plagued by loneliness, ill health, and poverty. Wayward and unconventional, lacking in the virtues of industry and self-discipline so strikingly embodied by his elder brothers, he was overshadowed by them and excluded from the charmed circle presided over by Jacob.

For all that, from 1812, when he left Kassel for Munich and then Berlin, until shortly before he died virtually destitute in Wolfenbüttel, Ferdinand dedicated himself to the collection of popular traditions from written and oral sources, and besides making substantial contributions to his elder brothers' Deutsche Sagen (1816-18), under the pseudonym Philipp von Steinau he published three volumes of legends, in 1820, 1838 and, posthumously, in 1846.

From the literary bequest, which is held by the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (West), Hoffmann and Rölleke have picked out those previously unpublished texts — seventy-nine in all — which were probably or definitely drawn from oral tradition, and have added to these a small selection of thirty-two texts from written sources. The sheer amount of orally communicated material is particularly impressive when one considers that, in spite of Jacob's and Wilhelm's insistence that traditions should be collected 'in the field', their Deutsche Sagen contained only a handful of legends bearing the label 'mündlich'. Moreover, the fact that several at least of Ferdinand's informants belonged to the lowest social classes adds to the interest and value of his work, especially as it has recently been shown that the informants for the first volume of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen were largely members of the middle classes, and that even Frau Dorothea Viehmann, 'die so kluge deutsche Bäuerin' who provided 'die ächt hessischen Märchen' of the second volume, was in fact a tailor's wife and, descended as she was from a Huguenot family, spoke French as her first language.

The material in the oral section ranges from short memorats, superstitions, and legends, some of which Ferdinand recollected from the part of his childhood he spent in Steinau, to longer pieces, some of them reminiscent of the Märchen, from Austria, Alsace, and the Eifel as well as nearer home. The pieces from written texts are from even more widely scattered sources. The style is more varied than Rölleke in his introduction implies, extending as it does from attempts to echo the tone of voice and even dialect of an informant, to more literary renderings which, however, seldom foreshadow the conventions of the Lesebuchsage. Many of the texts are of particular interest because they are variants of legends to be found in other collections, including the Deutsche Sagen. In view of such interrelationships, and of the unusualness of other items, it is rather a pity that the editors have not supplemented Ferdinand's comments with their own notes together with references to the standard motif indexes and lists of tale types.

The critical edition of the Grimms' letters which is being prepared by Gerd Hoffmann, and the same author's dissertation on Ferdinand Grimm, which is to be published shortly, will no doubt

help to rescue from oblivion a writer who has so far been denied his proper place beside his more distinguished brothers.

UNIVERSITY OF BATH J. B. SMITH

ART IN THE THIRD REICH. By Berthold Hinz. Translated by Robert and Rita Kimber. Oxford, Blackwell, 1980. xvi + 271 pp. with 16 colour plates. 0 631 12511 6. £5.50.

This is undoubtedly an interesting paperback that deserves attention. With the hardback edition costing nearly three times as much, it represents Good Value for Money, being a fine example of modern American book manufacture, of generous format, wide margined, and clearly printed with copious high quality black-and-white reproductions of paintings and photographs.

Some of the reproductions in this book stem from a cache of National Socialist era paintings assembled by the U.S. Army and now in Munich under the control of a federal ministry. They are not available to the public, and we cannot expect to find them in an art gallery — unless things change. Hinz offers us a conspectus of Nazi art with examples that few will have seen.

Hinz makes a determined attack upon those who pretend that art promoted by the Third Reich was 'nonart'. He has good grounds to complain, for one can turn up the entry on art in any current German encyclopedia to find that the period 1933-45 is dismissed in a line or two as an 'interruption in development' or that it is not mentioned at all. It is as if the twelve years of the Nazi state are to be exorcized from the history of art by consigning them to oblivion. Hinz stresses that there were plenty of traditionalist painters who were ready to join the mass support for the Party and in turn were found unobjectionable by the Party. They were soon to fill the places of the modern artists from Barlach to Schmidt-Rottluff who were ousted as perpetrators of degenerate art, the denunciation of which easily gained widespread approval.

Hinz shows the high value placed by the Nazis on all the visual arts and the 'mass aesthetic' of Party rallies and marches, of monster building projects designed not to be of practical use so much as to achieve grandiose purposes of culture — or cult — and vaunt Germany's 'greatness'. Hitler appeared as a patron of art, as the architect and builder of the Reich, and thus emphasized the symbiosis of art and the State. Hinz perceptively infers that art was necessary for 'a system suffering from an overwhelming lack of legitimation'.

1937 is picked out as a turning point with the opening of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich and its annually changed exhibitions of new German art. Hinz quotes facts and figures to prove

Beaconsfield showed his power in the Cabinet it was a secret influence permitted from above. And now Captn. Lutrell having thus unburthend my political convictions to you allow me to turn this letter into a vehicle for thanking you & Mrs. Lutrell for your kindness so disinterested towards my son' belive me I am very sensible of the obligation though I should not wish him to know that I had written to that effect to you

yours faithfully E. G. Broderip

Pray put this letter aside referring to it when the conspiracy is discovered and the up shot arrives

1. *Bridgwater Mercury*, 31 March 1880
2. Although Acland lost this election he won the East Cornwall seat in 1882 and remained an M.P. until 1892.
3. *Bridgwater Mercury*, 9 June 1880.
4. Until the reforms of 1832 the Luttrells of Dunster, who were close relatives of John Luttrell, had given their voters at Minehead banquets before elections. George, head of the Dunster Luttrells in 1880, was an active supporter of Acland to whom he was related.
5. *Bridgwater Mercury*, 16 June 1880.
6. *Ibid.*, 28 July 1880.
7. *Ibid.*, 15 April 1885.
8. Eugene Sue was the pen-name of Joseph Marie Sue (1804-1859), doctor and novelist. *The Wandering Jew* was first published in 1844 as *Le Juif Errant*.
9. Edmund, b. 1843, married second wife Alice Mills, 3 Aug. 1880.

Edington House,
Bridgwater. A. A. MOON

84. BOOK OWNER INSCRIPTIONS & WILLIAM BARNES (*SDNQ*, Sept. 1980, 67) Readers of Mr. French's note may like to be reminded that this was a subject on which Barnes also wrote as a collector. "In the hope that they may bring out others from the musty volumes of some of your readers", he contributed over a dozen examples of "book jottings" from his own shelves — including one similar to Mr. French's No. 2 — to a quaint country periodical *The Hawk, a monthly Hover from the Vale of Avon*, published in Ringwood by W. Wheaton 'for the retrievement of principle and good taste' in 1867.

"Verses of book-ownership", wrote Barnes, "such as yet linger with some of our schoolboys on the flyleaves and forrels of their books ... may be worth the trouble of gathering up, as tokens of the learning and thought of former times". Fortunately this article, with his other contributions to *The Hawk*, was rescued in 1956 by J. Stevens-Cox and re-published in *A Fadge of Barnes*. This shows that Barnes's interest was not so much in their value as evidence of dialect as to prove that 'much of our fore-elders' pursuits and learning ... have been too lowly rated by Macaulay, who makes the squires and clergy of Mr. Taunton's time (1746) to have been little better than boors'. Thomas Taunton was 'a Dorset gentleman' in whose copy of Heylin's Geography (1621) Barnes had found a health

certificate for the sale of a calf. Was there rinderpest in England in 1746? Barnes asked. "Book jottings" obviously offer plenty of scope for further exploitation.

TREVOR W. HEARL

85. SOMERSET VERSIONS OF A MEDIEVAL LEGEND. In the third book of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury (d. 1143?) we find a legend, best referred to as "News of the Other World", which may be summarized: Two close friends in the city of Nantes, who have studied together and obtained the priesthood 'more by entreaty than desert', agree that whichever dies first shall within thirty days appear to the other, thus providing evidence of the fate of the soul after death. One dies a violent death, but does not appear to his fellow within the agreed period. Some time later the living man, 'when awake and busied on some other matter', is confronted by the deceased. The latter implies that his return has been delayed by great difficulties, and he reveals that he is condemned to eternal punishment. He convinces his friend of his plight by sprinkling him with three drops of purulent matter, which burn holes the size of a nut in his temples and forehead. The dead man then stretches forth his hand, which is inscribed with a message of thanks from Satan to a clergy so corrupt that it has provided hell with many victims. The spirit disappears, and the living man enters a monastery, 'admonishing all, who heard or saw him, of his sudden conversion, and extraordinary interview'.[1]

Of the many variants of this legend[2] few are as close to the prototype as two Somerset versions, one cited by Hancock,[3] the other by Garton.[4] Hancock's variant runs: 'There were two old men who lived together on the borders of this parish, and who had gained an evil reputation by reckless immorality and avowed Atheism. One of them at length was taken ill and died. But before his death a solemn compact was entered into between the two friends that, if it were possible, he who died first should return and tell the other of his experiences in another world. Soon after, the survivor lay sleepless, tossing wearily in his bed. As the clock struck twelve, a ghastly flame illuminated the room, and he saw, by its unearthly light, his old companion standing beside the bed. In sepulchral tones the ghost reminded him of the compact. "And what hast thou seen?" said the other, almost paralysed with fear. "Mark me," returned the ghost, "there is a God, and a just God; and there is a Devil, and a terrible one; and if thou dost not mend thy ways, thou wilt be as I am now. Look here!" And with this, laying his hand on the bed, he burnt five holes on the counterpane; and, in the cloud of smoke which arose, he disappeared. But his awful trace remained. The survivor never rose again, it is said, from that bed, but died soon after, confessing and imploring forgiveness for his sins.'

Garton's version is narrated in the vernacular by a Farmer Dibble of Knowle Farm in the Ditcheat area and relates to the former inhabitants of a ruined cottage nearby. The relevant parts are: 'Thur was two brothers lived thur when I wur a lad, Jimmy an' Zammy Lukins was thur names; hrough zart o'vellers th'wur, didden never care nuthen vur nobody. The paas'n did zumtimes go an' talk to'em, but th' did tell un z'long's they didden meddle wi'he 'twurden no good vur he to come caddlin' they, an' vur all he mid zay.they know'd thur wurden no God. Howsomever, I spoase pass'n did maake'em think a bit, vur they made a bargain vur whichever o'em did die vust to let t'othur know if thur wur ar no. One night thur wur a man hrobb'd down be thic bridge; 'twurden the vust time n'eet the second ... But the time I wur a-tellin' o' thur wur a tidy bit o' money took, an' I've heard zay the farmer wur hurted mainish, but th'didden never catch nobody. Wull, zoon adderwurds Jim an' Zammy vall'd out, an' then Jim died — that wur queer, wurden ut? Thic very night Zammy woke up all a muck o' zweat an' heard Jim's voice a'callin' "Zammy, thur be a God, an' a turbul one!" Vrom thic day Zammy wur a refarm'd man. Never didden miss gwain to church, an' a-went all hround the parish tellin' about ut an' warnin' volks.'

Clearly there are differences of characterization, emphasis and motivation in these two Somerset variants. Garton's version is for instance farther from William of Malmesbury in making the two protagonists brothers rather than friends, and in implying that the one is killed by the other after money has been stolen. Nevertheless, the imputation of immorality and atheism together with the similarity of the revenants' words in these two versions makes it clear that they are closely related, and indeed the message conveyed by the revenants' words, as well as the generally moralizing tone of the narrative, would suggest that we have here a relatively archaic strand of the tradition. As Petschel points out, whereas the older, ecclesiastical, tradition follows William of Malmesbury in emphasizing the punitive nature of the other world and in intimating that it is reprehensible to call up the dead, in the younger, popular, versions of the legend a straightforward account of life after death is taboo, and the revenant expresses himself in oracular fashion.[5]

Strangely enough, words that are strikingly similar to those of Hancock's revenant in particular occur in the well-known story of how, after his death, Major George Sydenham of Dulverton, appeared to Captain William Dyke of nearby Skilgate. This tale has been attributed[6] to John Flavel (1630? - 1691), but his text[7] has a footnote referring to the *Saducismus Triumphatus* of Joseph Glanvill (1636 - 1680), which gives a fuller account[8]. Glanvill acknowledges that he has the story from Mr. James Douch of Mongton,[9] who heard it from one Dr. Thomas Dyke, "a near Kinsman of the Captain's". Glanvill's account may be summarized: During a visit to the house of the Sydenhams at Dulverton, Dr. Thomas Dyke and his kinsman Captain William Dyke shared the same room and bed. The Captain tells of a pact he made with his friend Major George Sydenham that whichever died first should appear to the other and resolve their frequent disputes about "the Being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul". The meeting was to take place between twelve and one on the third night after the funeral in the summer-house of the Sydenhams' garden. That very night has now begun. At half past eleven the Captain goes to keep his tryst, but he returns after two and a half hours with the information that nothing unusual has happened.

About six weeks later the Captain and the Doctor are lodging at the Christopher Inn at Eton, but this time they occupy separate rooms. The morning before their departure the Captain appears in a distraught condition. He tells how that same morning after daybreak the Major came to his bedside, drew back the curtains and said: "I could not come at the Time appointed, but I am now come to tell you, That there is a God, and a very Just and Terrible one, and if You do not turn over a New Leaf You will find it so." The Major then took up a sword which he had given the Captain, and complained that it was not so clean and bright as when it had belonged to him. After this the apparition suddenly disappeared.

For the rest of his life, which was about two years, the Captain remained deeply affected by the experience.

According to Glanvill, at the time of his death the Major was about 45, while the Captain was 50 or somewhat more, and both had formerly been "University and Inns of Court

Gentlemen". These statements can be generally substantiated and supplemented from other sources. William Dyke, a Royalist captain, described in his will as of Kents in Kings Brompton, d. in 1667, and must thus have been born *c.* 1615, while his cousin Dr. Thomas Dyke lived from 1613 to 1689 and is buried in the church of Kingston St. Mary near Taunton.[10] George Sydenham, second surviving son of John Sydenham the sixth of Brympton (1589 - 1626/7), married his cousin Susan, the dau. of John Sydenham of Combe, and became a major in the King's army. He died in 1664/65 and is buried at Dulverton.[11] A tradition, which appears to contradict Glanvill's account, stated that after his death he haunted the so-called Ghost's Room at Combe Dulverton. Interestingly enough, close to the door of this room there was a passage that led to a drawbridge communicating with the bowling green and pleasure grounds at the back of the house.[12] From such a room, one imagines, Captain Dyke could easily have reached the summer-house where, according to Glanvill, he went in vain to wait for the apparition of his friend.

Despite the undoubted authenticity of Glanvill's characters and the great detail and careful documentation of his account, we have nevertheless to admit that in many ways it echoes William of Malmesbury's legend, and that its similarity to Hancock's and Garton's variants extends beyond the words of the apparition. Indeed, one might argue, in view of the fact that from 1662 onwards Glanvill held benefices in Frome, Street and Bath, that his version entered Somerset oral tradition, where it survived to be recorded, earlier this century, by our chroniclers in the Wiveliscombe and Ditcheat areas. Evidence against this hypothesis might be seen in the fact that in Hancock the revenant's speech appears to be more complete, containing as it does a reference to the Devil which is not present in Glanvill. We are, however, more likely to be convinced that Hancock's version at least cannot derive from Glanvill's if we consider the scene in the former where the spirit drives home its message by burning with its hand five holes in the living man's counterpane. This is strikingly reminiscent of the scene in William of Malmesbury where the apparition bends its fingers into an ulcer in the palm of its hand and sprinkles the living man with three drops of purulent matter, which penetrate his temples and forehead 'as if with a burning cautery', and make holes the size of a nut. What we find in Glanvill at this point in the narrative is a motif which appears to be freely adapted from the original legend and is clearly designed to convince a more sceptical audience: the deceased Sydenham upbraids his friend for not tending the sword with

which the latter has been entrusted — the implication being that a mere impostor could not have known that the living man had been pledged to look after the weapon. At the same time we cannot fail to note that in some places Glanvill follows William of Malmesbury more closely than do the other Somerset versions. For instance, the fact that Sydenham returns, not at the appointed time, in the middle of the third night after his funeral, but about six weeks later, after daybreak, is reminiscent of the medieval author's claim that the deceased man does not appear until after the allotted span of thirty days, at a time when his companion is 'awake and busied on some other matter'.

Overall, however, we are struck, not by the divergences between the Somerset versions, but by their shared features, many of which reflect elements in William of Malmesbury's legend. It has already been pointed out, for instance, that the words of the apparition are practically identical in Hancock, Garton and Glanvill, and that their explicit reference to what the living man may expect in the next world is characteristic of older versions of the story. Similarly, the Somerset versions follow William of Malmesbury in stressing the chastening effect of the surviving man's experience, while Hancock and Glanvill go beyond the medieval legend in referring to his ensuing death. Such correspondences point to a close relationship between the Somerset versions, and suggest that they have a common source in a relatively archaic variant of William of Malmesbury's legend.

So far we have tacitly assumed that Glanvill's account is a mere counterfeit of a medieval *exemplum*. One might, however, argue that such a detailed and well-authenticated report must be taken at its face value. After all, close friends have been known to come to an agreement that the one who died first should return to reveal the secrets of the next world, and it is not unthinkable that the survivor, still suffering from his bereavement, should believe that he had seen his friend, not at the appointed time, but at a later date, when he was least prepared.[13] Indeed, in the 17th century in particular, such pacts were virtually a commonplace, especially between educated men who shared a taste for metaphysical speculation.[14] On the other hand, it is precisely in accounts dating from this period that we find echoes of William of Malmesbury's legend. Certainly this legend and its offshoots were well known in the 17th century. Schonbach for instance cites an account of how in 1627 John Prideaux, vice-chancellor of Oxford University and future Bishop of Worcester, had only to declaim a couplet from Odo of Cheriton's version in order to gain the applause of his

audience.[15]

How, then, are we to reconcile the reasonable assumption that Glanvill's account is authentic with the fact that it contains unmistakable echoes of William of Malmesbury's *exemplum*? We can best do so by assuming that Captain Dyke's visionary experience was moulded by his knowledge, possibly no longer conscious, of the medieval legend. After all, supernatural experiences do tend to be shaped by the expectations of those who have them, in accordance with the spirit of the times.[16] This does not detract from the subjective truth of such experiences. On the other hand it would be going too far to maintain that, wherever William of Malmesbury's story recurs, those of whom it is told actually believed themselves to have experienced the events narrated. No doubt Garton's Jimmy and Sammy Lukins existed on the edges of respectable society in Ditcheat, and possibly the latter was a reformed man after the death of his brother. This would be sufficient for the traditional tale of News of the Other World to crystallize around them. Oral tradition perpetuates its beliefs by placing them in whatever context seems imaginatively appropriate, with the minimum of objective evidence. And one might add that in Glanvill's day educated men were closer to oral tradition than they are today, so that they would be prone to attribute legendary experiences to real personages in a way that would scarcely be considered respectable nowadays, except perhaps in fiction.

1. William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, trans. J. A. Giles, 1876, 268-271.
2. See Anton E. Schonbach, "Studien zur Erzahlungsliteratur des Mittelalters", *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 139, 1898; Gunter Petschel, " 'Freunde in Leben und Tod': Eine Untersuchung des Marchentyps AT 470 als Beitrag zur vergleichenden Erzahlforschung", Diss. Gottingen 1967; Leander Petzoldt, "AT 470: Friends in Life and Death. Zur Psychologic and Geschichte einer Wundererzahlung", *Rheinisches Jahrbuch fur Volkskunde*, 19, 1968. Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, rev. ed., 1955, 5, 44, refers to the motif under M 252 as "Promise of dying man to bring news of other world". For post-medieval English versions see Ernest W. Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*, 1966, 162; Katharine M. Briggs, *Dict. of British Folk-Tales in the English Language*, B, 1, 1971, 524; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 1978, 708-709. A related motif occurs in "To Be Read at Dusk", Charles Dickens, *Selected Short Fiction*, ed. Deborah A. Thomas, 1976, 74-77.
3. F. Hancock, *Wifela's Combe: A Hist. of the Parish of Wiveliscombe*, 1911, 248-249.
4. J. A. Garton, *Glowing Embers from a Somerset Hearth*, 1937, 106-107.
5. Petschel, 325-326. One might add that sibylline utterances are not restricted to popular tradition, but are also characteristic of such 'learned' versions as that of Aubrey cited by Briggs.
6. E.g. in *SDNQ*, V, 299-300.
7. John Flavel, *The Whole Works*, vol. 2, *Pneumatologia: A Treatise of the Soul of Man*, 1740, 509-510. This is generally said to have first appeared in 1698, although the ex-

tract in *SDNQ* referred to above claims to be from an ed. of 1685.
8. Joseph Glanvill, *Saducismus Triumphatus*, 1689, 406-409. The work first appeared under this title in 1681.
9. James Douch was rector of West Monkton, 1652-69. See J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*, 1891, I, 416.
10. G. C. Painter, "Dyke Family of West Somerset", *SDNQ*, VII, 192-196.
11. A. T. Cameron, *The Hist. of the Sydenham Family*, 1928, 143.
12. Cameron, 348.
13. Petzoldt, 120-122, cites a similar instance to Glanvill in that the dead person appears, not at the appointed time, but 6 weeks after his death, at about 7 a.m., when the sun is already shining into the survivor's room.
14. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 708-709. Cf. also Petschel, 324.
15. Schonbach, 40-41.
16. Cf. Thomas, 711.

University of Bath. J. B. SMITH

QUERIES

86. SYDENHAM, *Col.* WILLIAM. Information is sought, particularly on whereabouts of Sydenham papers and of a portrait of this Col. Sydenham, 1615-1661, of Wynford Eagle, Governor of Weymouth, and one of Cromwell's Council of State; and of any other particulars about him, by Mr. Peter Gaunt, Lafrowda, Cornwall House, St. German's Rd., Exeter, Devon.

87. PITFIELD FAMILY. I am preparing a history of this family which lived before 1700 in Symondsbury and Allington (Bridport) and between 1700 and 1900 in Fordington (Dorchester), and should welcome information on it. Michael Pitfield, 1 The Firs, Duffield Lane, Stoke Poges, Bucks. SL2 4AJ.

88. ARNOLD, *alias* GOVERSON, WILLIAM. The National Trust pamphlet *Montacute House* records that Arnold built Montacute and Wadham College, Oxford, and did work on other buildings, including Cranborne House and Dunster Castle. He was buried at Charlton Musgrove, Somerset, 12 March 1637. Further information on Arnold, particularly on other examples of his architectural work, would be welcomed by subscriber K. G. Ponting, 23 St. James's Square, Bath. BA1 2TT.

89. A DORSET RHYME. The following rhyme was recorded in Dorset between 1880 and 1920, with the variants shown in brackets:

The Queen o' France was dafter nor any Dorset (Dosset) Sue!
She clapped her gown (crown) and laid her down
And cried Cuckoo! Cuckoo!

Information on origin, meaning, variants and additional stanzas would be gratefully received by C. J. S. Lock, University of Karlstad, Box 9501, 65009 Karlstad, Sweden.

BOOK REVIEWS

90. CALENDAR OF THE BRISTOL APPRENTICE BOOK, 1542-1552, ed. Elizabeth Ralph and Nora M. Hardwick, Bristol Rec. Soc., 1980, price £5.00 + 90p p. & p., available from Department of History, University of Bristol. This is the 2nd part of the almost complete set of Apprentice Books (which start in 1532) possessed by the city of Bristol. During the period covered about 1,800 apprentices were formally enrolled before the Town Clerk in Bristol, 50 of them being women. They came from all over the country, from Wales, Ireland and the Channel Islands; from Somerset there were 141 apprentices and from Dorset 13. The list of the trades and professions to which they were apprenticed is a roll-call of the activities which were carried on in and around the busy port, from apothecaries to woodsellers, and including merchants, dyers, weavers, shearmen, mariners and shipwrights. The indentures are also useful in showing the conditions of education and clothing provided for the apprentices as well as the tools and other equipment which they were to receive at the end of their apprenticeship. This well-produced and carefully edited volume is a useful addition to the printed materials for the 16th century history of Bristol.

J.H.B.

91. PORTRAIT OF AVON. By John Haddon. Pp. 221, 1 map, 34 illus. Robert Hale Ltd., 1981. £6.95. As a new county, Avon has a lot of catching up to do. Already its thriving local history association has produced a general *Handbook*, and the present work emphasises its individuality in face of earlier volumes in the same series on Bristol, Gloucestershire and Somerset. John Haddon's *Portrait* is easy to read and refreshingly unstuffy, although this means also that he is liable to introduce the occasional, jarring facetious comment or colloquialism. He has an eye for building stone and is ready throughout to draw attention to the country's geology and physical geography and to present these in terms made understandable to the ordinary reader. In half a dozen pages he admirably charts the stages in the development of Weston-Super-Mare, but by contrast, perhaps because nearer home, his Bath chapter is dominated by the planning controversies of the recent past.

86. D&C 3550 f. 142^{v}.
87. *The Register of Edmund Lacy:* Registrum Commune, ed. G. R. Dunstan, vol. i (Devon & Cornwall Record Soc., vii, 1963), p. 170.
88. Orme (above, note 84), p. 2.
89. Two was the usual number from 1435 to 1548 *(Valor Ecclesiasticus,* ii, 297; Orme (above, note 2), p. 94), but there were three in Nov. 1536 (G. Oliver, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon,* 2 vols. Exeter, 1839-40, ii, 158).
90. D&C 2599/7.
91. For his career see A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500,* 3 vols, Oxford, 1957-9, i, 253.
92. J. N. Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary,* Cambridge, 1917, p.p. 219-20.
93. Writ for inquisition *ad quod damnum* 14 Feb. 1402, inquisition held 29 Feb. (PRO, C 143/432/8), licence issued 13 Oct. *(Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1401-5),* p. 160.
94. Dalton (above, note 92), pp. 271-6.
95. *The Register of Edmund Stafford, 1395-1419,* ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, London & Exeter, 1886, p. 170.
96. *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* ii, 297.
97. Snell, (above, note 81), pp. 9-10.
98. D&C 1550.
99. D&C 2924.
100. D&C 2599/7.
101. D&C 3552 f. 18^{v}.
102. *Ibid.,* f. 33.
103. *Ibid.,* f. 37.
104. Frances Rose-Troup, 'Lists Relating to Persons Ejected from Religious Houses', *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries,* xvii (1932-3), p. 192.
105. *Ibid.*
106. D&C 2367.
107. D&C 2389.
108. D&C 3551 f. 44^{v}; 3552 f. 37^{v}.
109. *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* ii. 297: D&C 2599/7.
110. Snell (above, note 81), pp. 8-9.
111. Writ for inquisition *ad quod damnum* 12 Sept 1304, inquisition held 18 Nov. (PRO, C 143/48/18), licence issued 20 March 1305 *(Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1301-7),* p. 320.
112. D&C 1927.
113. D&C 2587/1.
114. D&C 3625 f. 86^{v}.
115. D&C 3550 f. 99; 3769; 2595/2-5; 2596/5.
116. D&C 2599/3.
117. *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* ii, 297; Snell (above, note 81), pp. 2-3. Orme (above, note 2), p. 95.
118. On his murder see Frances Rose-Troup, *Exeter Vignettes,* Manchester, 1942, pp. 38-57.
119. D&C 1930.
120. D&C 3550 f. 14.
121. *Ibid.,* f. 52; 2599/8; 2595/6.
122. D&C 2596/5.
123. D&C 2592.
124. D&C 2598/1.
125. *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* ii, D&C 2599/7.
126. D&C 2912.
127. D&C 2587/2-2597/8.
128. D&C 2596/5.
129. *Reg. Lacy,* i, 170.
130. D&C 2597/8; 2598/1.
131. D&C 2599/7.

132. *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* ii, 297. For the number of priests see above, note 89.
133. See also above, under Cross Altar.
134. PRO, E 315/101 f. 127-^{v}.
135. *Ibid.*
136. D&C 2587/1.
137. D&C 2587/2.
138. D&C 2596/5.
139. D&C 2592; 2597/3; 2599/8.
140. D&C 2597/8.
141. D&C 2598/2-2599/1.
142. D&C 2599/3-6.
143. D&C 3551 ff. 18, 48^{v}, 63^{v}; Orme (above, note 2), p. 95.
144. D&C 3551 f. 18.
145. *Ibid.,* f. 63^{v}.

Nicholas Orme

A17.

4. Traditions from Altarnun and South Zeal

Most of the following traditions and beliefs have been transcribed from tape-recordings made at Altarnun (Cornwall) and South Zeal (Devon)[1] in 1977. Only the first two accounts from each place (A1, A2, SZ1 and SZ2) have been reproduced from notes made in writing at that time. In transcribing the tape-recorded material I have omitted interruptions and repetitions which would have made the texts unnecessarily difficult to read, but otherwise I have attempted to preserve as accurately as possible the informants' words, and even some of the more striking features of pronunciation where these could be represented convincingly by using conventional symbols.

One of the passages (A7) is a memorat, a 'supernatural' event actually experienced by the informant himself, but the rest of the material is traditional in the strict sense of the word. Here it was often clear that the informants had imperfectly understood or remembered what they had heard. In SZ3, for instance, the speaker was mainly interested in telling about obsolete agricultural practices he knew of, and it becamed clear from his subsequent remarks that neither he nor his colleagues were aquainted with the story of Benjamin Gayer to which he indirectly alluded in his account. The Altarnun informant is in some ways more involved in the traditions he relates, as is made clear by his constant references to their veracity. Nevertheless, his accounts are sometimes rather garbled: his imperfect rendering in A8 of the words used to address an unquiet spirit is a case in point. The overall impression, then, is that these beliefs are late offshoots from what must once have been a vigorous body of tradition, and for this reason alone it is perhaps appropriate to record them here.

D+CN+Q, 35, 1, Spring 1978.

Altarnun[2]

A1 Frogs keep water pure. If there are frogs in water, you know it is fit for drinking.

A2 If a frog is a greenish-yellow colour, you know the weather is going to be fine.[3] If a frog is brown, you know the weather is going to be bad.

A3 When we get the sheet-lightning , just before the harvest, we call that harvest-lightning, because it ripens the corn. It ripen[4] the corn up. And it does a lot of good.

A4 A billy-goat in a field where there are sheep will slock[5] the sheep up to the lew hedge, specially lambing season. A billy-goat, you put him in to the cows. That will keep the cows from slipping calves.[6]

A5 That (i.e. Tregeagle) was a ghost. And he used to come across from somewhere—I don't know where—and he used to go through the King's Head Hotel, right through there (i.e. at Fivelanes). He went on through this farn, Trevethick Farm, and there was always a place[7] at Trevethick Farm—I could show it to you now—where he used to go in and sit down and rest. Then he would get up and carry on again, and then he'd go on, and then he'd cross the road and he'd smash these gates up. And when they put these here sticks across they was never interfered with. Many years ago; I heard my granny tell me. Well, so many people did believe in it. Whether they all did I just don't know.—There was a gateway here, and a road here, and a gateway there. And he used to smash these two gates up. And when these here sticks was put across each gateway they was never touched. There used to be four or five sticks. And they used to be fitted into the gate-posts to keep the cattle from going out into the road.[8]

A6 I know one my granny used to tell me about. There was a ghost at Coads Green.[9] And oh, it was a huge great thing. He had feet like elephants' and eyes like saucers, big as saucers.[10] And he used to come through Coads Green village every night about twelve o'clock. There was so many farmers got together with double-barrelled shotguns. And they all agreed, when he came along, that they would fire at it. Well, they got on top of this hedge, and waited there till the ghost come. And when they went for to pull the triggers of the guns, the guns would *not* go off. They wouldn't go off. But if they turned the guns around down to the field, the guns would go off. And (one of) my auntie's relations was walking along to Coads Green, same time of night, and she was carrying a basket. And this ghost took the basket right off from her arm. She passed through. That *was* true, that was. I heard my mother tell that a good many times.

A7 In fact myself I saw one. I've seen a ghost myself. When I was down Cornwall. That's several years ago; a long time before the war I think it was. And I went down with a farmer, carrying a big load, and I think it was back to Indian Queens.[11] And we had a bit of an 'ill to come over

with the cattle lorry. And as we was coming up this hill we had a little very slow right-hand bend to go round, and I suppose from the lorry up to that sheep (informant points to a sheep some ten yards away) we saw like an old woman, rumped all up.[12] Soon as we spotted her, like that, the lorry came to a standstill.[13] The engine stopped, and all the lights went out. And we were sitting in the cab of the lorry, to a quarter of an hour, and after that the sidelights came on, the headlights came on, we pressed the starter, and the engine started. We just saw her that once, and since ever we spotted her, the lights went—were gone like that. The engine stopped. And that was true. A little old woman, all in black. And that is true.

It never scared me. I ain't scared of nothing like that at all. I know that this person—it *is* a person, or a spirit of a person it is—is going on, and you know yourself, yet you've never done this person any harm. Therefore it's not going to do you any harm if you don't interfere with it.

A8 This was at Coads Green. Now the house was haunted very bad—and the people couldn't live there—twelve o'clock at night. And there came a sailor. And this sailor, he bet 'em that he would stop there. And they bet 'n he would'nt. He said, "I will!" So, any rate, when the sailor went in this house, he sat there. Twelve o'clock came. This ghost came to him. And the sailor spoke to him. Spoke to the ghost. And the ghost said to the sailor: "Follow me!" The sailor followed the ghost, went down into this house, in under, and he said: "Here I was killed, here I was buried." He said: "Everything that's down here now in yours." And they said that sailor was made. And that house was not haunted ever since. Never been haunted ever since.[14]

And that's all that a ghost wants. For some person to come along and speak to it, and you've got to bring the Lord's name in. You put that spirit to rest. But you could be rich after, or you could be just the same. You put that spirit to rest, just speaking to it and bringing the Lord's name in. I couldn't exactly say the words that the sailor (said). Something like this: "Lord, what doest thou trouble thee now?"[15] Or something like that. And the ghost said then: "Here I was killed, here I was buried. Everything that's mine is yours." And he said the ghost just disappeared like that, and this house has never been haunted since. And my granny said that was true. And I know my granny wouldn't hatch up anything. No, that was true. I heard my granny tell of it, and I heard my mother tell of it.

South Zeal[16]

SZ1 A dock leaf or cobweb always used to be used by old people to staunch blood.[17]

SZ2 An old man gave the following remedy for a bullock with a bad eye: Take a leaf of pennypad,[18] a small, round, green leaf growing in walls, chew it, and spit the liquid into the bullock's eye.

SZ3 Well, we used to take the scye,[19] and go round and mow a track right round the edge so that you could go round the first round with your horses and self-binder. Then go back and tie up your sheaves and sheaf it out and tie it up. And if 'twas wheat, you'd make a reaper's bean, what they call a reaper's bean.[20] And that means to say that you take up about three or four mots,[21] and you keep all the ears up here together. And you hold them in one hand and put the straw around the sheaf and make a reaper's bean, you see; and then you hadn't damaged the four or five ears of grain. And they should look upward when you've tied your sheaf. When we're mowing around oats or barley they don't bother about that sort of business. We just take up a few mots, strip them, and put them head to tail and tie it up.

And of course, the old standing joke was that, when you used to go out to Cranmere and out to Uggaton,[22] the old peole used to zay: "Well, he's gone out Uggaton today along of Benjy Gear, bindin' zan', and 'e got to make beans out of the same"[23]—which is impossible. And this I've heard many and many a time: "Gone out Uggaton along of Benjy Gear, bindin' zan'." Well, I mean, it's impossible.

When we were cutting off a hedge, we've had to do it upon hundreds of times, because we used to cook with the old-fashioned oven in the wall—heat th'oven before we could have our dinner. Well, we used to have to go out and tie up all these fackets[24] of wood. But before we could do that we had to go out and cut a cartload of beans. And this consisted of withy sticks, about the size round of your thumb, and about seven foot long. Well, then you twiddle up the bushy part at the top, give 'im a twist, and bring 'im around and make an eyelet of 'im, and weave that down through, see, and he's as tough as a thong—never break. This is what we used to have to do years ago. Well, today it's all gone. There's hardly any man, unless he's aged like meself, that knows how to twist a blooming bean and tie 'im up. There's not many of 'em about today.

SZ4 This farmer, not very var from here, he had a couple of horses drop down out in the field, dead. Different times, like, you know. And he'd go in the field and vind the sow dead, and all this sort of business.[25] Then somebody came along one day, and they told 'n straight. They zaid: "There's somebody, they've got a curse on you." And they said: "If you take that horse and trap and go out in the lane"—he zaid—"and let that horse go"—he zaid—"he'll take you to that person that've got a curse on 'ee" And this horse took 'em to this man's sister. Now she hasn't been dead very many year, and it's here in this locality. And whether they sort of had a row over it and it ended there, or what, I don't know.[26]

The old man told me this hisself, that he took this bloke's advice, whoever he was, that came down to the farm. He done what he was asked to do, and he drove out there into the lane and he let the horse go, and the horse went back to his sister. This is the tale that I was told, and that's how I know a bit about witchcraft, like.

NOTES

1. National Grid references SX/2281 and SW/6594 respectively.
2. Recorded on 20/21. 9. 77 from Mr. W. C., farmworker and factotum, born at Altarnun in 1915. Father born at St. Breward, eight miles to the WSW. Mother and maternal grandmother, from whom he heard some of the traditions, were both natives of Altarnun.
3. Cf. Seán Ó Súilleabháin, *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* (Dublin: Folklore of Ireland Society, 1942), p. 303: "Yellow frog a sign of good weather."
4. The third person singular present of verbs is often uninflected in SW dialects. See Martyn F. Wakelin, *English Dialects: An Introduction* (London: Athlone, 1977), pp. 119 f.
5. The verb *slock* means 'to lure, entice, decov'. See *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright (rpt. London: O.U.P.,1895-1905), v. 530.
6. Ó Súilleabháin, p. 37: "Were goats kept with cows for luck or protection?"
7. The informant later claimed that this place was a summer-house.
8. A naturalistic explanation of what has previously been explained as a precaution against a supernatural event. Various kinds of wood are of course thought to be a protection against witches, it not ghosts: see Ernest W. Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), G 272. 2.
9. Five miles to the SE of Altarnun.
10. Cf. Baughman, B 15. 4. 3: "Dogs with eyes like plates, tea-cups, etc."
11. Eleven miles to the SW of Bodmin, on the A30.
12. The meaning is 'hunched up'. See Wright, v. 182. v. 182.
13. Cf. Baughman, E 299. 1: "Ghost causes machinery to run unattended." There appears to be no motif number for a ghost causing machinery to stop.
14. Cf. Baughman, E 291: "Ghosts protect hidden treasure" and E 451.4: "Ghost laid when living man speaks to it."
15. Cf. Baughman, E 545. 19. 2(b): "Person must ask: 'In the name of the Lord, why troublest thou me?' "
16. Recorded on 13/14. 4. 77 from Mr. P. B., farmer, born at Sticklepath, one mile to the WNW of South Zeal, in 1908. Parents both natives of Sticklepath.
17. Cf. E. & M. A. Radford, *Encyclopaedia of Superstitions*, ed. and rev. by Christina Hole (London: Hutchinson, 1961), p. 108, and Ó Súilleabháin, p. 302: "Cobweb used to staunch blood from wound.".
18. Probably the wall pennywort. Wright, iv, 468 f., gives similar names, but not this.
19. This form is common in Devon and Cornwall for *scythe*. See *Survey of English Dialects*, ed. Harold Orton *et al.* (Leeds: Arnold, 1962-71), iv, i, 242.
20. See Wright, i, 206.
21. A *mot* is a single stalk. See Wright, *mote*, iv, 171 f.
22. The infomant claimed that this is a local form of *Okement*.
23. For a very similar Cornish formula see Wright, i, 206. My informant's allusion is to the story of Benjamin Gayer, who was condemned to inhabit Cranmere Pool on Dartmoor until the Day of Judgement, and there to make "trusses of sand and bind these with ropes of sand". See Katherine M. Briggs, *A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), B, i, 459 f.
24. A SW form of *faggot*. See Wright, ii, 278, and Orton, iv, ii, 543 f.
25. Baughman, G 265. 4: "Witch causes death or illness of animals."
26. Baughman, G 257: "Charms to cause witch to reveal self" and G 271. 6: "Exorcism of witch by countercharm worked by 'white witch' . . ."

J. B. Smith

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COCKAIGNE AND LUBBERLAND: ON THE SURVIVAL OF SOME POPULAR THEMES AND FORMS IN ENGLISH

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> 'Geh ins Schlaraffenland, wo es Pfannkuchen regnet.'
> (German proverbial saying)
>
> 'There is, likewise, an awkwardness of expression and words, most carefully to be avoided; such as false English, bad pronunciation, old sayings, and common proverbs; which are so many proofs of having kept bad and low company.'
> (Lord Chesterfield, Letters)

In a translation class recently my students and I experienced understandable difficulty in rendering the German expression Schlaraffenland. We felt that 'Land of Cockaigne' was too literary for what is after all a fairly colloquial turn of phrase in the German, that 'land flowing with milk and honey' was too biblical for the idea of 'märchenhaftes Schlemmerland', and that 'fool's paradise' suggested a rude awakening not implicit in the original. We came to the conclusion that there is something of a gap in the vocabulary of English here, and contented ourselves with some such makeshift as 'heaven on earth'.

One might draw wider inferences from this apparent absence of a word in English to describe what was once no more than a figment of the popular imagination, a land with lakes of wine and mountains of cheese, where the austerities of Lent were scarcely known. As Bolte & Polívka show, the English tradition seems to have petered out after the medieval period. Admittedly, the native name of Lubberland survived, 'doch sind uns besondere Märchen darüber nicht bekannt geworden'.[1] Nowadays few people have heard of Lubberland, and one might conclude that any stories about it long since went by the board, along with the pre-Lenten festivities with which they were often associated. A further temptation might be to see the absence of such stories as entirely characteristic in view of the alleged dearth in England of folk narratives, and Märchen in particular, a lacuna which has, for instance, been attributed to the

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influence of the Puritans and to the spread of universal education.[2]

This reminds us that in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth claims were likewise being made about the deleterious effects of education on local dialects. In 1905, for instance, having completed his English Dialect Dictionary, the crowning achievement of the work of the English Dialect Society, which had been founded in 1873, Joseph Wright wrote: 'there can be no doubt that pure dialect speech is rapidly disappearing even in country districts, owing to the spread of education, and to modern facilities for intercommunication'.[3] No doubt the pages of Wright's dictionary and grammar do record many forms which have long since become obsolete. Nevertheless, a glance at the pages of the Survey of English Dialects, fieldwork for which was carried out between 1948 and 1961, will show that the old rural dialects, although doubtless much changed since the turn of the century, were still flourishing quite recently among many older members of the agricultural classes.[4]

Just as the nineteenth-century English approach to the study of dialect differed from that on the Continent, where efforts had been channelled towards making atlases rather than dictionaries along the lines of Wright's, so Victorian folklorists dealt with their subject in their own particular way, not least because they inherited from their antiquarian predecessors an interest in beliefs and customs rather than in old wives' tales.[5] This led one commentator to write, in 1852:

> The popular tales and legends which abound among our rural population, are still for the most part ungarnered. . . . So much indeed is this the case, that we have had recourse to Germany in order to recruit our exhausted nursery literature; and readers of all sizes devour with avidity the charming versions of the Messieurs Taylor, few of them suspecting that stores of like character form the sole imaginative lore of their uneducated countrymen.[6]

However, after the founding of the Folklore Society in 1878 this state of affairs was remedied to a large extent, and the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 may be seen as the great years of folk-tale publication. After the Second World War there was a revival of interest and activity, culminating in such works as those of Baughman[7] and Briggs, who assembled and classified in accordance with modern methods examples from a multitude of sources. Thus, in their edition of The Types of the Folk-Tale which post-dates the first version (1953) of Baughman, Aarne & Thompson are able to show that many of the types which are so richly represented in the rest of Europe are also to be found in England, and even that some groups of tales are exclusive to the English-speaking countries.[8] However, it is my argument that, just as Wright's monumental dictionary, and for that matter the Survey of English Dialects, left much to be

gleaned, so Baughman's and Briggs's works, encyclopedic though they are, should not be regarded as the last word. Clearly such a presumptuous-sounding statement will require some elucidation. How can the ordinary mortal hope to add to such collections and thus help uncover the patterns of English folk narratives so that they can be compared and contrasted with their European counterparts?

The first answer that springs to mind is that remnants of what is after all oral literature are likely to be found in living oral tradition. Obviously, few of us have the inclination and training to tap the resources of peripheral communities still rich in such lore. Nevertheless, as Iona and Peter Opie point out in discussing children's sayings and beliefs, 'the folklorist and anthropologist can, without travelling a mile from his door, examine a thriving unselfconscious culture . . . which is as unnoticed by the sophisticated world, and quite as little affected by it, as the culture of some dwindling aboriginal tribe'.[9] One might add that 'a mile' would indeed be something of an overstatement here, since most of us carry around in our heads scraps of childish tradition which have, perhaps embarrassingly, remained unaffected by our conventional education. These remnants can be of surprising antiquity, and can throw light on the type of narrative with which I am concerned here. From my own childhood, for instance,[10] I have for some reason retained the fragmentary nonsense rhyme: 'Once upon a time/When pigs were swine/And monkeys chewed tobacco'. In quoting a fuller version from London, the Opies state that it stems from the traditional opening to some of our fairy tales.[11] This is borne out if we refer to Briggs, for there we find at the beginning of 'Jack the Giant-Killer: II':

> Once upon a time — a very good time it was — when pigs were swine and dogs ate lime, and monkeys chewed tobacco, when houses were thatched with pancakes, streets paved with plum puddings, and roasted pigs ran up and down the streets with knives and forks in their backs, crying, 'Come and eat me!' That was a good time for travellers.[12]

This is of course Aarne & Thompson Type 1930, Schlaraffenland, masquerading as the preamble to another tale. The fact, incidentally, that Briggs can muster some half a dozen items on the Schlaraffenland theme shows that Bolte & Polívka erred in their suspicion that such material no longer survives in English. Admittedly, some of the English versions appear to reflect a sterner attitude to life than their Continental counterparts. Thus 'I Saddled my Sow' begins: 'I saddled my sow with a sieve full of buttermilk, put my foot in the stirrup, and leaped nine miles beyond the moon into the land of Temperance, where there was nothing but hammers and hatchets and candlesticks, and there lay bleeding Old Noles'.[13]

Again from my own childhood I remember a tale about some

grave-robbers who wished to remove a ring from the finger of a corpse. Unsuccessful in their attempts, they cut off the finger, at which the corpse rose up with a terrifying shriek, which our storyteller[14] imitated with great gusto and considerable effect. This is Aarne & Thompson Type 990, The Seemingly Dead Revives, apparently combined with Type 366, The Man from the Gallows, of which Briggs records an unusual version in the shape of 'The Old Man from the White House', one of Addy's tales, from Sheffield.[15] The climax of this begins

'Sally, I'm up one step,'

and culminates in

'Sally, I'm up twelve steps,'
'Sally, I'm at thy bedroom door!!'
'SALLY, I HAVE HOLD OF THEE!!!'

This has also survived in a piece of children's lore recorded by the Opies, which ends with much the same hair-raising incantation.[16]

A further source of traditions is likely to be descriptions of provincial life which Baughman, Briggs, and others have not drawn upon. In Garton's Glowing Embers, for instance, which gives an accurate picture of Somerset life in the early part of this century, we find a residual version of 'Clever Elsie' in the form of an anecdote:

> Mrs. Haskins stood looking down at them. She was a good hearted soul though her outlook on life, and death, was a little pessimistic if not morbid. The rector had once found her crying and wringing her hands over the well in the garden: of course he hurried to her and asked what was wrong. ' 'Tis the little bwoy, zur.' When he enquired to what little boy she referred she told him it was her daughter's. He expressed surprise that her daughter should have been married without his knowledge, and received rather a shock when Mrs. Haskins said, 'She bain't, zur.' On seeking further information about the child he was somewhat bewildered by Mrs. Haskins' assurance, 'She ha'n't got na'r a child, zur.' He tried to keep a clear head and begged for some explanation. 'Wull, zur, I come down to draw a drap o' water vrom theaze yere well when all to once the thaught het into me head as one day ower Annie 'ood get married an' come the time a-might have a little bwoy an' a-might come to zee I an' come handy theaze yere well an' vall down un. O dear dear, I caan't a-bear to think o'ut, 'tiz too dreadvul.'[17]

This is the first part of Aarne & Thompson Type 1384, The Husband Hunts Three Persons as Stupid as his Wife, which is represented in Briggs by several stories, including three entitled 'The Three Sillies'. One of these, a version from Devonshire, begins in much the same vein as Garton's anecdote.[18]

I shall further demonstrate the rich pickings which can still be found in such literature by quoting an excerpt from Quiller-Couch's Troy Town. At the beginning of a nocturnal escapade the inimitable Caleb Trotter provides the following commentary:

> 'Et puts me i' mind,' he went on, as his master was silent, 'o' th' ould lidden as us used to sing when us was tiny mites:-
>
> Riddle me, riddle me, riddle me right,
> Where was I last Sat'rday night?
> I seed a chimp-champ champin' at his bridle,
> I seed an ould fox workin' hissel' idle.
> The trees did shever, an' I did shake,
> To see what a hole thic' fox did make.
>
> Now I comes to think 'pon et, 'tes Sat'rday night too; an' that's odd, as Martha said by her glove.'[19]

Here we have, in the form of a 'lidden', which Q tells us is a monotonous chant or burthen, a remnant of a once common tradition according to which a girl, invited by her lover to a rendez-vous, arrives early and, hidden in a tree, sees him digging a grave for her. She remains undetected, and when she next meets him she reveals in the form of a riddle what she has witnessed, whereupon her lover is apprehended. This is Baughman's Type 955C, a typically English and American offshoot of Type 955, The Robber Bridegroom. It is interesting that the girl's riddling words have also survived as a song in parts of Somerset.[20]

Accounts of provincial life are not the only works to contain such fragments. The mainstream of literature can also provide examples, especially if we go back far enough. As Briggs points out, references scattered through plays, poems, and prose writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries make it clear that there was a great body of oral narrative extant at that period.[21] Here again the Schlaraffenland theme will serve as an illustration, since in Jonson's Bartholemew Fair we find the lines: 'Good mother, how shall we find a pigge, if we doe not looke about for't? will it run off o' the spit, into our mouthes thinke you? as in Lubberland? and cry, we, we?'.[22] This example is listed in The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, which provides only one later reference to Lubberland.[23]

Are we, then, to assume that authors in later centuries moved away from such popular themes? Perhaps they did, as Briggs implies, but it is interesting that Whiting's Early American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, which is based on writings in British North America from the earliest settlements to about 1820, can provide half a dozen references to Lubberland, the earliest from c.1680, the latest from c.1820.[24] Most of these have the ring of unselfconscious everyday speech about them. By contrast, the companion volume, which covers the period from 1820 to 1880, contains no references to Lubberland as far as I have been able to

asoertain.[25] The clue to this discrepancy may lie partly in the fact that while the latter volume draws on more 'literary' sources, the former is based partly on workaday writings by authors from all walks of life, from scholars and statesmen to farmers, foot soldiers, artisans, hunters, and country storekeepers. It was, then, doubtless in writings such as these, which reflect the unaffected colloquial language of the time, that homely sayings such as those on the Lubberland theme survived, whereas, as Whiting tells us, 'by the middle of the eighteenth century there seems to emerge a feeling in the mother country as well as in America, that proverbs, at least taken seriously, have little place in elevated literature'.[26] In what follows, however, I shall try to show that proverbial sayings at least have continued to play an important part in less sophisticated literature, and especially in oral tradition, two areas that have been largely neglected by latter-day British paroemiologists.

Most of my examples so far have been of residual forms, of which one could say as did Hartland in reviewing Addy's Household Tales, but with far greater justification: 'The tales bear signs of weathering; and some of them are mere shards and splinters'.[27] Perhaps this is the best one can hope for, and far from being deterred, I shall continue with the thought, adumbrated in the previous paragraph, that it is in proverbial sayings, and above all in the most inconspicuous and simple oral form of all, the proverbial phrase,[28] particularly as used by ordinary people, that further evidence of the folk narratives we are looking for can be found. After all, no less an authority than Röhrich reminds us 'daß sprichwörtliche Redensarten auch Schwundstufen aus allen möglichen kulturellen Bereichen sein können . . . Oftmals sind die Relikte von Volkserzählungen'.[29] A couple of examples on the Lubberland theme will demonstrate this. They are: You would do well in Lubberland, where they have half a crown a day for sleeping,[30] and Then I'll thatch Groby Pool with pancakes,[31] a saying which seems to mean much the same as I'll eat my hat, and in which the idea of thatching with pancakes, already encountered above in 'Jack the Giant-Killer: II', is taken to the ultimate pitch of absurdity. However, I should now like to venture beyond the confines of Lubberland.

Of Type 285, The Child and the Snake, there are according to Aarne & Thompson fifteen German variants, among them the Grimms' 'Märchen von der Unke', and as many as seventy-three Swedish ones.[32] The gist of the Grimms' version is as follows:

> A child is in the habit of sharing its bowl of bread and milk with a snake, which in return brings with it precious stones from its hidden treasure. However, the snake leaves the bread and drinks only milk, and one day the child pats it on the head with its spoon, saying: 'Thing, eat bread as well' ('Ding, iß auch Brocken'). When the mother hears this

> and sees the child apparently defending itself with its spoon against a serpent, she kills the good creature with a piece of wood. After this the child pines and wastes away, and soon it is dead.[33]

This has survived not only as a tale in the German-speaking countries, but also as a proverbial saying, since in the Swiss Canton of Uri it is customary to say to children, or for that matter adults, who are over-fastidious in their eating habits: 'Müesch Meckli äü nä, nitt nur Mämmäli!'[34] ('You must take bread as well, not just milk!'). Significantly, it is the child's words, which are the salient feature, the turning point of the story, that have remained here where all else has disappeared.

At this point one might ask whether a tradition which is so well represented on the Continent is to be found in the English-speaking countries. In fact Baughman lists a good dozen variants for North America, but only one for England.[35] This is a Cornish version, quoted by Briggs, who also refers to Charles Lamb's poem 'The Child and the Snake'.[36] In addition, the theme has survived as an aetiological legend in the Welsh Borders,[37] and a saying from Oxfordshire indicates that it once had a still wider distribution. In the English Dialect Dictionary we find under the headword get the formula: Get on your own side, do, grey-pate!, which is explained as 'an expression used to children who want more than their share of anything'. It is from Mrs. Parker's Oxfordshire Words, and Wright informs us of an MS. addition according to which the expression was said to have taken its origin from a girl who shared her breakfast with a snake, and thus reproved her favourite when he wanted more than every alternate spoonful.[38] Here, then, we have an interesting counterpart to 'Müesch Meckli äü nä, nitt nur Mämmäli!'. Both sayings derive from the words of the child in the original tale, but whereas the Swiss version is used as an exhortation to the over-nice, the Oxfordshire one was apparently meant to check those who erred in the opposite direction.

My next example is of a saying relating to avarice. There are of course many such sayings, and most take the form of a hyperbole, stating that a person is so mean that in order to save or obtain money he would perform a task generally thought to be improbable or impossible. Thus we find He'd straighten nails, or She'd buy half an egg if they'd sell her one.[39] Rather more picturesque are to skin a louse and to drive a louse to London for the hide and tallow, both of which mean 'to be very greedy or grasping'.[40] They are reminiscent of the German die Laus um den Pelz schinden, 'ein Ausdruck besonderen Geizes, der sich darin zeigt, daß einer selbst das kleinste Tierchen wegen eines geringfügigen Gewinnes schindet. Als witzige Pointe kommt bei dieser Rda. hinzu, daß die Laus ja keinen Pelz hat'. Röhrich, from whom these comments stem, also points out a similarity between the theme of these sayings and that of Aarne & Thompson Type 621, The Louse-Skin.[41] Here a princess has

a louse fattened until it becomes as big as a calf. At its death she has a dress made of its skin. She is to marry the man who can guess from what the dress is made. The hero learns by trickery and wins her. The theme, which is to be found in the Grimms' fragment 'Die Laus',[42] was also adapted from an Italian source by Brentano in 'Das Märchen von dem Baron von Hüpfenstich'.[43]

Baughman lists one version from Kentucky,[44] but neither he nor Briggs gives any from Great Britain. However, the multiplicity of English proverbial sayings on this theme — I have counted a dozen-odd versions, of which the earliest goes back to 1591 — makes it seem unlikely that the tale of the louse-skin was never told in these islands. Even so, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the sayings on this subject have their origin in a proverb translated from some other language.

A North Yorkshire saying which also purports to characterize the avaricious is <u>They plait sawdust</u>.[45] The implication is presumably that such people would be ingenious enough to make ropes from sawdust, just as they might perform such improbable feats as straightening nails or skinning lice. At the same time it is, or was, a popular belief that such fruitless tasks as plaiting sawdust or weaving ropes of sand were a suitable punishment after death for those who had in some way been found wanting in this life. Dyed-in-the-wool spinsters and bachelors might thus be condemned according to folk belief, and presumably misers too, who in Switzerland are referred to as <u>Sagmelchnüpfer</u>,[46] a name which is strikingly reminiscent of our Yorkshire expression.

A Devonshire expression also springs to mind here. In 1977 a retired farmer from Sticklepath near Okehampton told me that when as a young man he used to go out to cut peat in the part of Dartmoor near Okement Hill and Cranmere Pool, the old people would say: <u>Well, he's gone out Uggaton</u> (= Okement) <u>today along of Benjy Gear, bindin' zan'</u> (= sand)<u>, an' he got to make beans of the same</u>.[47] My informant explained that a <u>bean</u> is a twist of straw used to tie up sheaves, and that to tie up sand in this way is of course impossible. But neither he nor any of the other local inhabitants knew who Benjy Gear was. Benjamin Gayer was in fact a seventeenth-century mayor of Okehampton who died with a guilty conscience, having embezzled some funds with which he had been entrusted. Local legend had it that his restless spirit was banished by twenty-three clergymen to Cranmere Pool, where it was condemned to make trusses or bonds of sand until the Day of Judgement[48] — a fate, incidentally, which is said to be shared by the ghosts of several other West Country malefactors. Here, then, we have Aarne & Thompson Type 1174, Making a Rope of Sand, reduced to the status of a saying which can hardly have been used outside a few parishes around Dartmoor.

In discussing the well-known nursery rhyme 'Cock a doodle doo!/

My dame has lost her shoe', Iona and Peter Opie tell us that to 'mocke the cockes' by giving words to their crowing was a common game among children in Elizabethan times.[49] The following, more recent, example, which is in the form of a dialogue between two cocks, was told me in 1977 by an informant from Iron Acton, Avon, and is interesting not only for its onomatopoeia, but also as a comment on the matrimonial state: First cock: The missus is maestur 'ere./Second cock: And so they be everywheere!.[50] Further investigation shows, moreover, that this is the last remaining fragment of a popular tale called 'The Henpecked Husband', which runs as follows:

> There was once a poor husband that was ruled by his wife. One day she tormented him so much that he made up his mind to leave her and go into another country. So he set out on his way, and he had not gone far before he came to a farmhouse which stood by the roadside. Just as he was passing the door a cock crowed, and he thought the bird said, 'Women are masters here!' He went a few miles further, and came to another farmhouse. As he went by a cock crowed again, and he thought the bird said, 'Aye, and everywhere!' Then said the husband, 'I will go back and live with my wife, for now I am certain that women are the rulers of men'.[51]

This is a variant of Aarne & Thompson Type 1375, Who can Rule his Wife? A more regular version of this is 'The Grey Mare is the Better Horse', the title of which has survived as a proverb in its own right.[52]

The monstrous regiment of women is also the theme of the Scottish saying It's a sour reek, which Wright tells us is used of a wife beating her husband. In explanation of this rather cryptic entry he appends a quotation from James Kelly's Scottish Proverbs of 1721: '"It is a soure reek, where the good wife dings the good man." A man . . . coming out of his house with tears on his cheeks, was ask'd the occasion; he said there was a soure reek in the house; but upon farther inquiry, it was found that his wife had beaten him'.[53] Here we have proverb, proverbial saying, and the tale from which they are derived, all within the space of a few lines. Evidence that the tale, and possibly a related saying, has in fact survived south of the Border, is provided by this more discursive, previously unpublished version from West Somerset:

> Some years ago, the Squire of Luxborough was walking from one of the hamlets to the other of a dark winter's night and he thought he saw something in the hedge. And he investigated and found it was one of his cottage tenants, William, who was eating bread and cheese, in the hedge. So he said, 'William, whatever are you doing there?' 'Oh sir,' he said, 'chimney smokes terrible.'
>
> Before William could say anything more, Squire was off to the cottage, and, being the landlord, he didn't knock or anything, he just opened the door. And the frying-pan missed

his head by about a quarter of an inch. He quickly shut the door and went back to William, and he said, 'Ah William, my chimney smokes too sometimes.'[54]

Compare the German saying es raucht (im Hause) in der Küche, which Röhrich glosses: 'es herrscht Streit, die Frau schilt mit dem Mann, mit dem Gesinde'.[55] This shares the imagery, if not the source, of the British tradition.

In Dialogue 1 of Swift's Polite Conversation we find the following exchange:

Lady Smart: Go, run, girl, and warm fresh cream.
Betty: Indeed, madam, there's none left; for the cat has eaten it all.
Lady Smart: I doubt it was a cat with two legs.[56]

The catch phrases exemplified here have of course survived to the present day, and we can also find German parallels, such as Die Katz hat es gefressen. In Alsace a child which, having stolen a titbit, replies along these lines, traditionally meets with the rejoinder: Ja, die wu zween Füeß hat. In listing such expressions Röhrich refers to their obvious source, the tale of how a greedy cook eats the meal she is supposed to serve, but cleverly avoids the blame (Aarne & Thompson Type 1741).[57] Aarne & Thompson refer to one Scottish and twenty-one Irish versions, but Baughman lists no variants for England or North America.

It might be contended that the type of study I have outlined above is too much concerned with survivals. Some of the traditions I have referred to still eke out an existence in the twentieth century, but they can hardly be said to enjoy rude health. To this one might counter that just as in recent decades students of dialect have turned their attention to a whole gamut of present-day varieties including urban dialects, so folklorists have concerned themselves increasingly with contemporary manifestations of oral tradition, among them the joke, the anecdote, and the modern legend. But, just as many features of modern urban speech hark back to the old rural dialects, so modern oral narratives often perpetuate traditional material in a new form. Two or three examples will illustrate this.

A Pennsylvania-German story runs as follows:

On the hot afternoons of summer, a mother was accustomed to give her child of two years or so a bowl of bread and milk out in the yard under a great oak tree. Then leaving the child, she would return indoors to her work. One day, she felt an impulse to look after the child, and went out into the yard. To her awe and fright she saw a big black snake with its head upraised lying near the child. Her fright was

> so great that she was unable to move. Then to her still greater fright, she saw the child bring its spoon down on the head of the snake, saying, 'Eat crumbs too, not only milk.'[58]

This truncated version of The Child and the Snake is brought to an abrupt halt, so that the listener's sense of awe and impending disaster explodes into laughter when the child addresses the snake, a charming episode which stands out in the prototype all the more because it is the prelude to tragic events. The Märchen has become an amusing anecdote which has some of the characteristics of the jocular tale. A further and final stage in this process of reduction can be the joke, which, like the jocular tale, is often the vehicle for a sceptical or irreverent attitude, but is characterized by greater brevity.[59] An example would be the following:

> Two men spend a night in a haunted house. One dresses up as a ghost in order to scare the other. When his companion shows obvious signs of terror, he doffs his disguise and explains the trick, only to be told, 'It's not you I'm frightened of. It's what's standing behind you!'[60]

Both teller and listener are pleasurably poised between belief and disbelief, one feels, in this whittled-down version of Baughman's Type 1676A, Big 'Fraid and Little 'Fraid. Some earlier versions of this are jocular tales, but others are legends, fraught with a sense of dread characteristic of that form. The following version, which has, I believe, never been anthologized, will serve as an example:

> A poacher belonging to a party who frequented the . . . open commons on Maundown declared that, passing this eerie spot [where a suicide named Titybye had been buried], he saw a motionless figure standing on Titybye's grave. His companions determined to play a trick on his fears, and one of them, arrayed one night in a bullock's hide, went previously to the place and waited until the rest came up. Soon the others arrived at the crossway, and one of them said to the ghost seer, 'Now, do you see anything there?' 'O yes,' said he, 'there's the devil and Titybye looking over his shoulder.' At this the fellow in the hide gave a loud yell, flung off his horns and tail, and ran away for his life after his companions, who rushed helter-skelter down the lane into the town! All of them were thoroughly scared, but the man who had seen the ghost of Titybye took to his bed and did not recover his health for months afterwards.[61]

All this is not to say that the legend as such has ceased to exist in modern urban society. The story of the cadaver arm, for instance (Baughman, N 384. O.1. 1), in which a practical joke played by medical students has disastrous consequences, perpetuates as a legend a theme that was taken up by Hebel in his 'Tod vor Schrecken'.[62]

But the ultimate test of the legend is not whether it is concerned with the supernatural or the macabre, but whether it is believed by narrator and audience. This condition was fulfilled by the following example, which I heard about 1975:

> A lady went into the toilets at a well-known department store in Bournemouth, and placed her handbag on the floor. A hand appeared under the partition and removed the handbag. After reporting the theft at the manager's office, the owner went home. A little later she received a telephone call, ostensibly from the manager, to the effect that the handbag had been found. She immediately went to collect it, only to be told that the telephone call must have been a hoax. When she arrived home again, she found that her house had been burgled in her absence.[63]

It was only when I heard the same story told of different protagonists in different localities that I recognized it for what it is, a piece of contemporary legendary lore.

1. Johannes Bolte & Georg Polívka, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, second edition (Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1963), III, pp. 244 ff. (p. 252).
2. See Bolte & Polívka, V, 49, for references.
3. The English Dialect Dictionary, edited by Joseph Wright (1898-1905) (London, Oxford University Press, 1970), VI, Preface to the Grammar, p. iv.
4. Survey of English Dialects, edited by Harold Orton and others (Leeds, Arnold, 1962-71).
5. Katharine M. Briggs, A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970-71), A, 1, p. 4.
6. T. Sternberg, 'Popular stories of the English peasantry', Notes and Queries, first series, 5, No. 129 (1852), pp. 363-64.
7. Ernest W. Baughman, Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America (The Hague, Mouton, 1966).
8. Antti Aarne & Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale: A classification and bibliography, second revision (Helsinki,

Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1973).

9. Iona and Peter Opie, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren (1959) (London, Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 1-2.

10. At Kingsley Holt, North Staffordshire, in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

11. Opie, p. 22.

12. Briggs, A, 1, p. 331.

13. Briggs, A, 2, p. 537.

14. Mrs. Jean Lamont, born in Paisley about 1890.

15. Briggs, A, 2, pp. 550-51.

16. Opie, p. 36.

17. J. A. Garton, Glowing Embers from a Somerset Hearth, second edition (Wells, Cathedral Press, 1937), p. 94.

18. Briggs, A, 2, p. 305.

19. A. T. Quiller-Couch, The Astonishing History of Troy Town (1888) (London, Dent, n.d.), p. 215.

20. See Briggs, A, 2, pp. 448 ff.

21. Briggs, A, 1, p. 4.

22. Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair, III, ii, 75.

23. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, compiled by W. G. Smith; third edition, revised by F. P. Wilson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 495.

24. Bartlett Jere Whiting, Early American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 271.

25. Archer Taylor & Bartlett Jere Whiting, A Dictionary of American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, 1820-1880 (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1958).

26. Whiting, Early American Proverbs, p. xiv.

27. E. Sidney Hartland, Untitled review of Sidney Oldall Addy, Household Tales with other Traditional Remains Collected in the Counties of York, London, Derby, and Nottingham (London, D. Nutt; Sheffield, Pawson & Brailsford, 1895) in Folk-Lore, VI, 4 (December 1895), pp. 85-86 (p. 85).

28. Compare Lutz Röhrich, Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten (Freiburg, Herder, 1977), I, p. 12: 'von allen Teilgebieten der sprachlichen Volksüberlieferung gelten die sprichwörtlichen Redensarten als das unscheinbarste. Unter den "einfachen Formen" sind sie die einfachsten'.

29. Röhrich, p. 24.

30. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p. 495.

31. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p. 809.

32. Aarne & Thompson, pp. 83-84.

33. Brüder Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen, seventh edition (1857); edited by Heinz Rölleke (Stuttgart, Reclam, 1980), II, pp. 100-2.

34. Lutz Röhrich, 'Sprichwoertliche Redensarten aus Volkserzaehlungen', in Ergebnisse der Sprichwörterforschung, edited by Wolfgang Mieder (Bern, Peter Lang, 1978), pp. 128-29.

35. Baughman, p. 5.

36. Briggs, B, 2, pp. 765-66.

37. See Jacqueline Simpson, The Folklore of the Welsh Border (London, Batsford, 1976), p. 45.

38. Wright, II, pp. 599-600. Compare the almost identical 'Keep on your own side, do, Grey Pate' in Lamb's 'The Boy and the Snake'. See Charles & Mary Lamb, Poetry for Children, edited by Richard Herne Shepherd (London, Basil Montagu Pickering, 1872), p. 11.

39. The Countryman, 'Tail Corn', 80, No. 4 and 81, No. 4 respectively.

40. Wright, III, p. 670.

41. Röhrich, Lexikon, II, p. 580.

42. Brüder Grimm, III, p. 279-80.

43. Clemens Brentano, Werke (Munich, Hanser, 1972), II, pp. 156-78.

44. Baughman, p. 15.

45. The Countryman, "Tail Corn", 84, No. 3.

46. Röhrich, Lexikon, III, p. 786.

47. Informant: Mr Percy Brook of South Zeal, born about 1910. This and the following example were discussed briefly in J. B. Smith, 'Proverbial sayings from the North Midlands and South-West of England', Journal of the Lancashire Dialect Society, 20 (1980), pp. 14-22.

48. See Ralph Whitlock, Folklore of Devon (London, Batsford, 1977), pp. 54-55.

49. The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, edited by Iona and Peter Opie (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 129.

50. Informant: Mr Frederick Stiff, born 1905. He heard the saying from an old man at Frampton Cotterell.

51. Briggs, A, 2, p. 115.

52. Briggs, p. 112.

53. Wright, V, p. 77.

54. I am indebted for this example to Mr R. W. Patten, who recorded it from Mr. Wilfred Norman, Wheddon Cross, Somerset, 26 October 1973. Patten ref. M87/C32.

55. Röhrich, Lexikon, III, 764.

56. Jonathan Swift, Satires and Personal Writings (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 219.

57. Röhrich, Lexikon, II, p. 493. The sayings in this paragraph were discussed in J. B. Smith, 'Whim-Whams for a Goose's Bridle; a list of put-offs and related forms in English and German', Lore and Language, 3, 3, Part A (July 1980), pp. 32-49.

58. Quoted in Butler H. Waugh, 'The Child and the Snake in North America (Aa-Th 285)', Norveg, VII, p, 158.

59. Compare Kurt Ranke, 'Schwank und Witz als Schwundstufe', Festschrift für Will-Erich Peuckert, edited by Helmut Dölker (Berlin, Erich Schmidt, 1955).

60. Told me about 1960 by a colleague from Cardiff.

61. Frederick Hancock, Wifela's Combe: A history of the parish of Wiveliscombe (Taunton, Wessex Press, 1911), p. 251.

62. Johann Peter Hebel, Werke (Frankfurt am Main, Insel, 1968), pp. 76-77.

63. From Mrs. Rosemary Müller, whose mother, an inhabitant of Poole, Dorset, had told it to her of an acquaintance. Compare Aarne & Thompson Type 967**.

A 19. Of Skinflints and Pinch-Farthings

Not very long ago I was reminded of the saying as mean as Moke, which used to be common in the part of my family that comes from NW Derbyshire, but an explanation of who or what Moke might be did not readily occur to me. In some northern dialects moke is 'mist' or 'fog', and in general dialect and in slang the word means 'donkey'.[1] The latter interpretation might be preferred by anyone familiar with the Cockney as mean as cat's,[2] which also appears to refer to an animal, but the link is a very tenuous one, and both similes remain something of an enigma. Fortunately not all sayings about the parsimonious are as obscure. For instance, drastic though they are, two other Cockney expressions, E's so tight 'is arse squeaks, and E's so tight you couldn't get a tram ticket between the cheeks of 'is arse, are much less provocative from the linguistic point of view, since they clearly revolve around the double meaning of tight.

Apart from examples of the sort I have just discussed, popular sayings about the miserly appear to fall into two main categories. Those in the first category are more or less realistic. They comment on the physical appearance, or, more commonly, on what may reasonably be assumed to be the actual habits of misers, whereas sayings of the second category are often in the form of a hyperbole, and give full rein to the imagination, claiming that in order to indulge his passion the skinflint would perform unlikely or impossible feats - that he would indeed skin a flint.

A 19. Of Skinflints and Pinch-Farthings

Not very long ago I was reminded of the saying as mean as Moke, which used to be common in the part of my family that comes from NW Derbyshire, but an explanation of who or what Moke might be did not readily occur to me. In some northern dialects moke is 'mist' or 'fog', and in general dialect and in slang the word means 'donkey'.[1] The latter interpretation might be preferred by anyone familiar with the Cockney as mean as cat's,[2] which also appears to refer to an animal, but the link is a very tenuous one, and both similes remain something of an enigma. Fortunately not all sayings about the parsimonious are as obscure. For instance, drastic though they are, two other Cockney expressions, E's so tight 'is arse squeaks, and E's so tight you couldn't get a tram ticket between the cheeks of 'is arse, are much less provocative from the linguistic point of view, since they clearly revolve around the double meaning of tight.

Apart from examples of the sort I have just discussed, popular sayings about the miserly appear to fall into two main categories. Those in the first category are more or less realistic. They comment on the physical appearance, or, more commonly, on what may reasonably be assumed to be the actual habits of misers, whereas sayings of the second category are often in the form of a hyperbole, and give full rein to the imagination, claiming that in order to indulge his passion the skinflint would perform unlikely or impossible feats - that he would indeed skin a flint.

Let us start with the more realistic type of description. In Westmoreland a person with a sharp, prominent nose was said to be snipe-nosed, and thought to be narrow and small-minded. In W Yorkshire a sharp-nosed person, who was because of this feature assumed to be a miser and niggard, was known as a snipe-snout. Hence He's a snipe-snoout; he'll part wi' nowght. A miser will, not unnaturally, scrimp, or scrouge. The dialectal verb is substantivized to give scrouge, 'a stingy, niggardly person', a word which Dickens may well have adapted in naming the miser of A Christmas Carol. Such a niggard will spend much of his time in scratching and scraping. He is thus known as a scart or scart-the-bowl, a scrat or scrat-penny. He is a scrape, scrapie or scrape-hard, a scrape-dish or scrape-daytions, a dashin being a tub used for kneading oatmeal dough. With his thumb-nail he will presumably nip off or split the tiniest portion of food. Thus he is a split-curran, split-fig or split-raisin, a nip-cheese, nip-prune or nip-screed, while a baker who gives short weight in bread is called a nip-roll. A person like this is a nip-kite or nip-skin, one who would starve himself or others from covetousness.[3] He is a rare good customer wheer they're givin' things away for nowt.[4] Of such a nip-farthing one might say, "Oh, he's such a scrimp - a regular gnarl-band,"[5] the implication being that he would gnaw string or twine rather than spend money on food. Such a one might be said not to part with the reek of his kale,[6] or, more pungently, not to be able to spare the reek off his own shit.[7] Here we begin to enter the realm of the unlikely and bizarre,

and I shall now turn to expressions that are inspired more by speculation than by observation.

In the Grimms' Household Tales we find a story of how a princess fattened a louse until it was the size of a calf, slew it, and had a dress made of its skin. That man was to be her husband who could guess the provenance of the garment.[8] This tale used to be widespread throughout Europe, and quite possibly it gave rise to the grotesque idea that a miserly person would likewise go so far as to flay a louse or flea and keep its skin.[9] The first recorded English instance of a proverbial expression along these lines goes back to 1591,[10] and if we turn to Joseph Wright's English Dialect Dictionary (1898 - 1905), we find that during the intervening centuries the vernaculars had had time to develop the idea in a variety of ways with characteristic expressiveness. In Scotland a miserly person would be willing to skin a louse for the tallow o't, and, indeed, in Derbyshire such a one was known as a skin-a-louse. In S Lancashire he would flay two devils for one skin,[11] or, as a W Yorkshire version had it, flea two dules for ya skin.[12] N Yorkshire variants, also listed by Wright, were to drive a louse to London for the hide and tallow,[13] and to skin a toad for the hide and tallow.[14] Thus the ground was already prepared for such recent versions as the Yorkshirewoman's "I had to be so careful, I'd skin a louse for its fat and liver",[15] and the Welshman's "Name o' goodness! He'd skin a gnat for its hide, would owd Tom".[16] Still more recent variants are from Northumberland and Leicestershire respectively: "He'd follow a louse to hell

for the tallow", and "He would skin a flea for a farthing and spoil a sixpenny knife over the job".[17]

Not only will misers flay lice and fleas and such small deer, if we are to believe popular idiom, but they will also skin flints and the like, for despite the adage No man can flay a stone,[18] to flay a flint is 'to act meanly in order to get or save money',[19] and in Norfolk flay-a-flint accordingly meant 'mean' or 'stingy'.[20] Perhaps the Northumbrian "He's that mean , he wad peel an orange in he pocket"[21] was suggested by sayings such as these, possibly the Warwickshire "Her'd buy half an egg if they'd sell 'er one"[22] echoes the proverb Half an egg is better than an empty shell,[23] and certainly there is a relationship between the Devonshire saying "E'd tek the milk outer yer tay if ye didn't have it nailed in",[24] and the catch phrase If it's not nailed down it's mine, more appropriate to the light-fingered than to the merely parsimonious. Here we are reminded of the Northern Irish He would steal the cross off an ass, said of an avaricious person. The cross, or dark marks across the shoulders of a donkey, are of course significant in popular tradition. In Oxfordshire they were for instance said to have been made by the legs of Christ as he rode into Jerusalem.[25]

Many sayings about the miserly can thus be shown to have their roots in established tradition, but others do not have even the ghost of a pedigree as far as I have been able to ascertain. Their imagery is none the less striking for that, and some of them have a rounded feel about them as if they had been much used. Examples that might be cited are the Cambridgeshire "'Im, eez so tight, e'd straighten nails",[26]

the Scottish "He is so tight-fisted he wouldna give you a fricht if he were a ghost",[27] and "He's so mean he'd steal a dead fly from a blind spider",[28] heard in an Oxfordshire pub. A Berkshire description of a tight-fisted couple: "There they sits, one on one side of the fire and one t'other, holding on to two sides of a sixpence and stretching on 'im to make 'n go as fur as a shilling"[29] has the ring of new coinage, but only in the case of a Devonshire woman's expostulation, heard at the funeral of a mean old relative who died on 31. 3. 73, can we posit a terminus a quo: "If ee'd a-knowed, 'e would 'ave hung on a bit so's we'd 'ave 'ad to pay V.A.T. on 'un."[30] Here indeed we have a product of modern economic trends.

By contrast, when a North Yorkshire man said of miserly neighbours "They plait sawdust",[31] he was, it seems likely, unconsciously drawing on a very ancient tradition. According to this, those who in this life were guilty of certain vices, including averice and rapacity, were condemned in the next world to such fruitless tasks as plaiting sawdust, weaving ropes of sand, or emptying a lake with a sieve or shell. Thus in parts of Switzerland a miser is still referred to as a 'sawdust plaiter' (Sagmelchnüpfer).[32] Rather similarly, the German name 'snow-siever' (Schneesieber) as a term of abuse for a died-in-the-wool bachelor reflects the traditional belief that unmarried persons were condemned to sieve snow in the next life.[33]

However, as Röhrich has pointed out, such an unlikely activity as plaiting sawdust can be looked at in two ways,

on the one hand as a cruel task imposed on malefactors in the hereafter because of the unlikelihood that they will ever encompass it, on the other hand as something that might well be achieved in the here and now by someone endowed with sufficient ingenuity.[34] We have seen that popular idiom invests the miserly with just such ingenuity, so that in their excessive concern with economy they might well go to the lengths of skinning lice, buying half eggs, or straightening nails. By the same token <u>They plait sawdust</u> might be seen as a hyperbolic statement of the ingenuity that the miser's passion drives him to, rather than a grim reminder of some punishment to which he is, or will be, condemned.

This dual interpretation of the thinking that possibly lies behind a popular saying will perhaps help shed light on another proverbial expression. In Chapter Xl of Q's <u>Troy Town</u> Caleb Trotter says of a certain Lawyer Mennear: "Aw, he was a reg'lar split-fig, <u>an' 'ud go where the devil can't, an' that's atween the oak an' the rind.</u>"[35]

Alwyn and Brinley Rees tell us that in Celtic tradition "lines without breadth symbolize the supernatural in the realm of space, and in modern folklore spirits can be confined in such spaceless places as 'between the froth and the water' or 'between the bark and the tree'", much as they can be set such impossible tasks as draining the sea with a bottomless cup[36] or, one might add, weaving ropes of sand and plaiting sawdust. Just as John Tregeagle of Trevorder and Benjamin Gayer of Okehampton, whose vices were of a mercenary nature, were condemned to weave ropes of sand,[37] so the spirits of

other West Country malefactors such as Major Docton[38] and Sir John Popham[39] were said to be confined in trees. If we take all this into account, we might see Caleb Trotter's remark that Lawyer Mennear would go between the oak and the rind as a presentiment of his fate in the next life.

By and large, however, our second type of interpretation would seem to be more appropriate here. According to Wright, in West Somerset to go between the oak and the rind means 'to shuffle, to trim'.[40] More specifically, it means 'to make fine distinctions, to split hairs, to quibble', and in NW Devon where the devil can't go is usually added,[41] as in our Cornish version about Lawyer Mennear, who has indeed shown himself to be a quibbler in cheating Caleb Trotter by a remarkable piece of skulduggery. Tree and bark, or rind, occur frequently in popular idiom to represent things which are indissolubly united - as near as bark to tree, as an English saying puts it.[42] The German zwischen Baum und Borke stecken ('to be stuck between tree and bark'), meaning 'to be in a fix/dilemma', stems from the idea of the woodsman's axe jammed immovably between tree and bark. The French proverb Il ne faut pas mettre le doigt entre l'arbre et l'écorce signifies that one should not interfere in quarrels between man and wife, or otherwise meddle in another family's affairs.[43] The English equivalent is Put not thy hand between the bark and the tree.[44]

From these examples it is clear that popular thinking foresees difficulties, or even dangers, for anyone who presumes to interpose himself between such closely knit things as tree and bark. Only those capable of great ingenuity - and

we have seen that misers and their ilk are regarded as belonging to this class of persons - will succeed in entering this normally inviolable space and go where the devil can't, an' that's atween the oak an' the rind. So far so good, one might say, but how are we to explain the reference to the devil here?

It might be appropriate at this point to look elsewhere for analogues. It will be recalled that after a lifetime of outwitting the devil, Jack o' Kent, the hero of the Welsh Border, was in danger of finally succumbing to the fiend because of a compact he had entered. According to this, the devil was to take him, body and soul, when he died, whether he was buried inside or outside a church. In spite of this, Jack had the last laugh, since he had himself buried in the thickness of the wall at Grosmont Church, where he was neither 'inside' nor 'outside', and the devil was cheated of his prey.[45] Like the space between a church's inside and outside wall, the space between oak and rind is 'neither' and 'nor'. Thus not only a folk hero such as Jack o' Kent, but also misers and equivocators of whom Lawyer Mennear is a prime representative, are seen by popular tradition as capable of performing the impossible or paradoxical task, and thus of cheating the devil.

There is admittedly a difference between the Border and the West Country traditions in that in the former the motifs of paradoxical task and escape from the devil are linked to form legendary material, whereas in the latter they have crystallized as a proverbial saying. Nevertheless, we do

not have to look far for legendary analogues in the West Country, although they are only distantly related. For instance, a girl from Bridgerule near Holsworthy in Devon was said to have obtained respite from the devil until a candle was burnt out, and to have escaped him when the candle was extinguished and walled up in Bridgerule Church.[46] Perhaps there are legends more closely related to the saying about Lawyer Mennear. After all, proverbial sayings frequently bear witness to the more discursive manifestations of oral tradition.[47]

1. Joseph Wright, ed., The English Dialect Dictionary (London: Oxford University Press, 1898 - 1905), 4, 145 f. (= EDD in what follows.)

2. This and the following two sayings are from a collection of East End expressions sent me by Julie Sherborne in April 1981.

3. These expressions are to be found in EDD under the appropriate headwords.

4. Elizabeth Mary Wright, Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), p. 167.

5. EDD, under the appropriate headwords.

6. EDD, 3, 398.

7. EDD, 5, 77.

8. Brüder Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen, ed. Heinz Rölleke (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1980), pp. 267 [280] f., "Die Laus".

9. Lutz Röhrich, Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten (Freiburg: Herder, 1977), 2, 580.

10. William George Smith, comp., The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), p. 740. (= ODEP in what follows.)

11. EDD, 5, 476.

12. EDD, 2, 60.

13. EDD, 3, 670.

14. EDD, 5, 476.

15. The Countryman, 73, 2, "Tail Corn".

16. The Countryman, 84, 1, "Tail Corn".

17. The Countryman, 85, 4, p. 140.

18. ODEP, p. 569.

19. ODEP, p. 267.

20. EDD, 2, 393.

21. The Countryman, 82, 2, "Tail Corn".

22. The Countryman, 81, 4, "Tail Corn".

23. ODEP, p. 344.

24. The Countryman, 78, 3, "Tail Corn".

25. EDD, 1, 811.

26. The Countryman, 80, 4, "Tail Corn".

27. The Countryman, 78, 4, "Tail Corn".

28. The Countryman, 81, 3, "Tail Corn".

29. The Countryman, 79, 2, "Tail Corn".

30. The Countryman, 78, 1, "Tail Corn".

31. The Countryman, 84, 3, "Tail Corn".

32. Röhrich, op. cit., 3, 786.

33. Ibid., p. 872.

34. Op. cit., 3, 786.

35. Sir A. T. Quiller-Couch, The Astonishing History of Troy Town (London: Dent, n. d.), p. 111.

36. Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, Celtic Heritage (London: Thames and Hudson, 1961), pp. 345 and 412.

37. Theo Brown, The Fate of the Dead (Ipswich: The Folklore Society, 1979), pp. 27 ff.

38. Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 68 (1936), 81 f.

39. R. L. Tongue, Somerset Folklore, ed. K. M. Briggs (London: The Folk-Lore Society, 1965), pp. 55 and 103.

40. EDD, 1, 253.

41. EDD, 4, 316 f.

42. ODEP, p. 556.

43. Röhrich, op. cit., 1, 108.

44. ODEP, p. 30.

45. Jacqueline Simpson, The Folklore of the Welsh Border (London: Batsford, 1976), p. 59.

46. Ralph Whitlock, The Folklore of Devon (London: Batsford, 1977), p. 24.

47. Röhrich, op. cit., 1, 24 f.

A 20

TAIL CORN

1968-80

Selected and Annotated

by

J. B. Smith

I am indebted to the Editors of The Countryman for their permission to publish a selection from "Tail Corn", a column which appeared over a number of decades, but which recently petered out, apparently for lack of suitable material.

The offerings which were printed in "Tail Corn" were essentially short, pithy rural sayings as overheard by subscribers to The Countryman with an ear for the well-formed, vigorous phrase and colourful image. What many contributors did not realize, however, was that a good number of the sayings were far from original: as often as not they have a remarkably long pedigree, which I have where possible attempted to trace or comment on in the attached notes. Here I have also tried to show that "Tail Corn" contains material that can be of interest to the student of dialect.

The number of sayings printed in "Tail Corn" over the years must have run into thousands. In an attempt to give an impression of the range of items included and at the same time to keep this selection within reasonable bounds, I have devised headings which owe nothing to any orthodox system, and have restricted myself to the period from 1968 to 1980. Mr Crispin Gill edited The Countryman, and "Tail Corn", during these years, and to him I am particularly grateful for the information and advice he gave me.

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71·1·2 FENLAND woman, of daughter expecting a baby: 'She's podding up nicely now'.

71·1·4 AGED retainer on Yorkshire farm, to farmer's 'little lass' in her new spring bonnet of flowers: 'Tha looks like an ullet [owlet] peepin' out of a louphole'.

71·2·13 CUMBRIAN farmer admiring copper beech: 'Bonny tree that'n. Coom October he'll be as red as a fox'.

A guinea is offered for the best paragraph: it must be true and original. Also-rans, if printed, earn the usual rate. This quarter the guinea goes to Mrs D. M. Kydd for the second.

Listener 68/9

71·2

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Tail Corn

A little measly talk over neighbours is right enough; it do make the day go by little quicker and sends a body to bed with a chuckle—*Mrs Ellis's 'Villager'*

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A guinea is offered for the best paragraph; it must be true and original. Also-rans, if printed, earn the usual rate. This time the guinea goes to Mrs C. M. Grant for the first.

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Tail Corn

A little measly talk over neighbours is right enough; it do make the day go by a bit quicker and sends a body to bed with a chuckle—*Mrs Ellis's 'Villager'*

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A pound is offered for the best paragraph; it must be true and original. Minor ones, if printed, earn the usual rate. This quarter the pound goes to Mrs A. Burling for the first.

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Autumn 72

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A pound is offered for the best paragraph; others that are printed earn £50. They must be true and original. This quarter the pound goes to Miss S. M. Gifford for the first.

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A pound is offered for the first paragraph; others that are printed earn £50. This time the pound goes to Mrs D. E. Coates.

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5 DEVONSHIRE woman, of daughter's smart boy friend: 'Yer 'e comes, all dressed up like a fourpenny rabbit'.

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A pound is offered for the best paragraph; it must be true and original. Anecdotes, if printed, earn the usual rate. This quarter the pound goes to John Lamb for the first.

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YORKSHIRE woman, of early struggles to make ends meet: 'I had to be so careful, I'd skin a louse for its fat and liver'.

A SCOT talking to another about a third and absent party: 'He is so tight-fisted he wouldna give you a fricht if he were a ghost'.

A pound is offered for the best paragraph: it must be true and original. Others that are printed earn 50p. This quarter the pound goes to Mrs Dorothy Buckley for the first.

177

CAMBRIDGESHIRE remark: ''Im, eez so tight, e'd straighten nails.'

NORTHUMBRIAN of a stingy neighbour: 'He's that mean, he wad peel an orange in he pocket!'

1 SCOTS woman, describing beggar's attire: 'He hadna as much on him as would stuff a stilt' [pad a crutch]. 76·1·6

2 WELSH COUNTRYWOMAN, describing a parsimonious neighbour: 'Name o' goodness! He'd skin a gnat for its hide, would owd Tom'. 84·1·9

3 NORTH YORKSHIRE man speaking of miserly neighbours: 'They platt (plait) sawdust'. 84·5·11

£2.50 is offered for the first paragraph; others that are printed earn £1. This time, first place goes to J. Parr of Wolverhampton.

Awkward 79 · (84·3) 193

4 KENT WOMAN, speaking of a poor neighbour: 'She hasn't two ha'pennies to jangle on a tombstone'. 85·5·9

5 71·2·2 OLD woman's comment on bride's trousseau: 'She didn' 'ave enough clo'es t' flag a wheelbarrer'.

6 YORKSHIRE woman commenting on the scanty dress of her grand-daughter: 'She leeaks that cauld in it you could grate a lemon anywhere on her, for gooseflesh'. 77·2·5

76-4-7 NOTTINGHAMSHIRE woman to child enthusiastically eating large stick of rock: 'Tha'll be all bartled up an' as fat as a mowdywarp [mole]'.

WOMAN talking of a very tall, thin friend: 'He look like he was brought up in a grandfather clock and fed through the key-hole!' (from an Australian reader, aged 98). 82-2-9

A pound is offered for the first paragraph: others that are printed earn 50p. This time the pound goes to Mrs D. A. Bowles.

TWO HEREFORDSHIRE FARMERS, each separately describing a very thin man: ' 'E's as thin as a snipe's gut' and ' 'E's so thin, that if the door opened an' nobody come through—that 'ud be 'im!' 80-3-4

76-2-7 CO. DERRY woman describing friend: 'She's that thin ye could pull her through a flute backwards and it wouldna stap the playin' '.

76-2-3 GLOUCESTERSHIRE woman, of emaciated neighbour: 'Never was much to 'im, no more'n a rasher o' wind an' a fried snowball'.

11-1-11 CROFTER describing new minister who is painfully thin: 'Mon, I've seen more fat on a tinker's bicycle'.

MIDLOTHIAN WOMAN on slender youngster: 'She be seven stone wringing wet'. 84·4·3

WIFE of sick husband: 'He's that wasted, you could strain him through a colander'. 71·2·7

HEARD IN ESSEX: 'Oad bones are snappin' an' crackin' loik sticks, an' I can't lift moi fut over a wheat straw.' 87·2·5

ESSEX WOMAN: 'Oi were that queer Oi han't got the strength to step over a wheat straw'. 83·1·4

ELDERLY HEREFORDSHIRE LADY, asked if her sister, who looked thin and ill, ate well: 'Ah! 'er eats well but 'er doesna praise her pastures!'. 85·1·9

LANCASHIRE comment on a lady still extremely active despite advancing years: 'Er. She's as fit as a butcher's dog.'

LOWLAND Scots comment on village gossip: 'She spends a' her day gatherin' news, flittin' frae wan hoose tae anither like a paper pawkie [bag] blawin' in the wind'.

HAMPSHIRE village gossip: 'She buzzes round the village like a dumble dore in a poppy head.' (A dumble dore is a bumble bee.)

SCOTTISH woman describing local gossip, 'She'd talk a gramophone to scrap iron, that one.'

SOMERSET woman, of talkative neighbour: 'She's all jaw, like a sheep's head'.

SHROPSHIRE man, of his friend's nagging wife: 'Poor owd Bill, he went all over th'orchard an' finished up wi' a crab'.

HENPECKED ULSTER HUSBAND, telling a friend what his wife had given him for tea the previous evening: 'Hot tongue and cold shoulder'. 85.3.5

LABOURER speaking of over-zealous wife: "Er be like Farmer Tregize's geese—always wanting to be where 'er baint'. 77.4.3

CORNISH woman when asked if her restless young neighbour was at home, 'I dunnaw; 'ee d' vlit in and out like a vly.' 79.1.2

FARM WORKER, of vacillating and indecisive employer: 'Can't abide workin' vor 'im, 'tez like bein' 'andcuffed to a ghost.' 80.1.1

ELDERLY Oxfordshire villager, describing the wonders of Spaghetti Junction in Birmingham: 'Ar, whoever worked that one out 'ad mor'an lice in 'is 'ead!' 80.1.2

WELSH SUPERVISOR, of a voluntary helper: 'She's a good worker, don't get me wrong, but she's not quite twelve inches to the foot' 84.2.6

HAMPSHIRE FARMWORKER describing a fellow: 'He's that dim-witted he don't know hay from a bull's foot'. 84.2.10

£2.50 is offered for the first paragraph; others that are printed earn £1. This time, first place goes to Stan Williams of West Yorkshire.

193

Summer 79 (X4.7)

CORNISH WOMAN, describing some people who were a bit slow on the uptake: 'That vacant they be, they was put in wi' the bread and taken out wi' the cake.' 81.1.2

74.1.5 YORKSHIRE father to dim-witted son: 'Nay, lad, thi'rt no more use 'n ha'penny book without any pages an' t' back torn off'.

71.2.5 YORKSHIRE woman on her neighbours: 'She's as daft as Kittle-Harry, and he's as queer as Dick's hat-band'.

COTSWOLD villager replying to suggestion that she was aware of some village scandal: 'And there I was, as ignorant as a pig in pattens'. 77.3.9

WEEKENDER from London, seeing a Brown Leghorn hen, to his Suffolk gardener: 'I've never seen a pheasant like that before.' Gardener's reply: 'No and you never will, yew know no more than a crow do about Sunday.' 82.2.4

CORNISH FISHERMAN, describing the men of a rival fishing village: 'They do put candle out winda, an' if et blaws out, 'tes too fierce to put to sea, an' if et don' blaw out, 'tes too calm'. 84.3.3

LANCASHIRE workshop foreman replying to an enquiry about the new lad: "Ees lazy, 'ee'll neer be killed wi' wark, bout it tumbles on top of 'im'. 77.3.7

AN OLD LANCASHIRE man of his rather backward son: 'Ee's 'ad meyt put in 'is mouth, an' 'e were too lazy to chew it'. 76.2.4

KENTISH HUSBAND about his wife: 'She don't bother 'erself. Proper Sally Slapcabbage she is'. 85.1.4

1 WARWICKSHIRE woman's remark about any doubtful character: 77·2·6
'He's as queer as Dick's 'atband. Went nine times round and then couldn't tie'.

2 COUNTY DURHAM man referring to acquaintance of dubious 77·3·6
reputation: 'By lad, he's a scorcher, cares fer nowt ner neabody an' 6
that kyt fingert he wad rob the Holy Ghost of his shoe laces'.

3 YORKSHIRE woman commenting on dubious man: 'I'm not one 77·2·9
that goes by appearances, but when I sees shells I can guess eggs'.

4 JC 493 SHROPSHIRE villager of an untrustworthy neighbour: "Im? 'E couldn't go straight, not if you was to stuff 'im up a gaa-as pipe'.

5 CORNISHMAN discussing a neighbour: 'I wouldn' call un a liar, 85·2·7
but 'e d'andle the truth awk'ard'.

6 12·1·3 SUSSEX forester, of charming neighbour and compulsive romancer: 'Trouble with 'Arry is the way 'e 'andles the truth'.

82.3.7 NORTHUMBRIAN woman of a neighbour given to romancing: 'Every time she opens her mouth, the lies clatter out wit hobnailed boots on, heel caps and all.'

DORSET FARM-WORKER of a fickle woman: ''Er got more faces than a draper got 'ats.' 81.4.8

CUMBERLAND villager, of flighty neighbour: 'Barbed wire fence wouldn't stop 'er, with man t' other side'.

STAFFORDSHIRE MAN, commenting on a local woman with a seedy reputation: 'Now, 'ar wouldn't trust 'er in a field of thistles.' 82.1.1

PROVERBS

WEARDALE FARMER'S advice to daughter about to reject a proposal of marriage from a wealthy tradesman: 'Never cock your snoop at money, my lass, 'cos it's money that makes the mare to go'. 83.1.7

ELDERLY SOMERSET MAN, to another complaining of age coming along: 'Wull, thee cassen have two vorenoons in one day!' 82.2.1

NORTH SOMERSET SHEPHERD, leaning on a gate: 'Stop thee bleating 'ut, every time thee'se bleats thee'se miss a mouthful.' 1
87·2·1

ELDERLY Yorkshire woman denouncing an old man for boasting: 2
'The owder a chap gets, the faster he could run as a lad!' 87·1·7

SCOTTISH proverb: 'There's aye some watter whaur the stirkie drooned.' (There is always some water where the young bullock drowned—i.e. no smoke without fire.) 3
79·4·3

POSTMAN, when asked why he had changed his political allegiance: 4
'Ye maun bend tae the buss that bields ye best.' (You must bend to the bush that shelters you best.) 1
79·4·1

NORTHUMBRIAN WOMAN, speaking of local benefactor who manoeuvred to get a contract for his own business, 'Self's first dog in the hunt'. 5
85·3·10

£2.50 is offered for the first paragraph; others that are printed earn £1. This time, first place goes to Mrs Leeding of Gloucestershire.

OVERHEARD at Banbury market: 'It be better to have a shilling than be owed a pound'. 85·2·6

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE FARMER, as a salesman over-enthused about a second-hand farm vehicle: 'Every egg a bird'. 83·3·1

YORKSHIRE FARM WORKER'S way of saying 'Like father, like son': 'Crows don't breed pigeons.' 83·2·10

£2.50 is offered for the first paragraph; others that are printed earn £1. This time, first place goes to Lt. Col. T. S. Frowd of Dorset.

187

SOMERSET farmer irritated by too cheerful wife, 'Many a bird that sings before seven cat du 'av 'im by eleven.' 79·1·4

SCOTTISH woman talking to another about men: 'Afore yer married - he'll lift ye ower a puddle but after he'll no look roond to see if you've fallen in the burn'. 78·3·1

1

OVERHEARD on a Buckinghamshire railway station, a man explaining why he was still working when his three children were all now at work: 'Well, yer don't see the chick scratch for the 'en, do yer?' 78·2·9

2

OLD SOMERSET glover acknowledging kindness of neighbours: 'Ee, if 'ee do a bit o' kindness 'twill come back well buttered'. 77·2·4

3

75·1·3 WELSH butcher to customer complaining of bony meat: 'Well, missus, you buy land, you buy stones; buy meat you buy bones'.

4

76·2·6 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE farmer listening to forecast of snow: 'There's many a black cow white in May'.

5

NORTH YORKSHIRE man pointing to the rain and mud: 'Wind in 't south, muck up ti t' mouth'. 77·2·11

WEATHER AND CLIMATE

1 SCOTSWOMAN on a bitter day: 'There'll be a sharp frost this night; there's duck's feet on the puddles already.' 83-2-3

2 NORTHAMPTONSHIRE MAN, giving a weather prediction: 'It be too cold to snow, but it won't be no warmer till it does'. 84-2-7

3 COUNTY DURHAM man, of cold day: 'It's ca'ad eneaf fer twea pairo' shoe laces'. 77-1-7

4 HUNTINGDONSHIRE farmer's wife during a wet spell: 'We're up to our 'ocks in sludder.' 80-2-3

5 WORCESTERSHIRE Grandad's saying: 'It were that windy larst noight it blew the bottom out o' the well.' 80-4-1

71·2·3 DEVON hall porter describing a heavy shower: 'The rain came down like broom 'andles'.

DEVON FARMER: 'We could do with some rain – herd hadn't enough last night to make a spider's shavin' water.' 83·2·7

DEVONSHIRE man, of last summer's weather: 'It's real snakey weather, can't trust un at all'. 77·4·9

71·1·6 NORFOLK coastal farmer viewing rough water of the Wash: 'Wind's turned north—the sea's showing its teeth'.

SCOTTISH fisherman on the weather: 'This month's always the same every year—you always get six weeks east wind every March'. 77·3·2

OLD FARMER, discussing bad winters of the past in the pub, 'Ah, six weeks of frost and snow we 'ad—and all in March.' 79·2·3

DIALECT

HEREFORDSHIRE ROUNDSMAN, reporting on his first run with a new mare: 'By gom'st, you, 'ers a good un. Er'll lumbar up the road an' tiddle down the adlin, but when 'er gets 'er yud toards whoam 'er goes like a train, s'now.' 82·4·1

COTSWOLD VERGER to visiting clergyman arriving for the early service: 'Shall I zung the bell, sir?' 87·1·3

HEARD in Essex: 'Woipe yar jars an' yar clars an' be ye orf to skule, an' if you want a bit o' fat pork you axe fo't, not clar et.' 80·4·9

A pound is offered for the first paragraph: others that are printed earn 50p. They must be true and original. This time the pound goes to the Rev. L. J. Birch.

177

DURHAM miner: 'Aa used to hoy (throw) aal the muck from the pig cree and the hen hoose amang the fruit bushes and wa (our) gooseggs made aal the others in the show look like penkers (small).' 80·2·2

OLD HEDGER, knocked over by a charging tup, 'Oh 'twere nothing like, 'e were only playful, not lungerous mind.' 79·4·4

OLD GLASGOW woman, watching a new battery being put in the radio, 'Is that whit gies it the piff tae gang?' 79-1-6

BERKSHIRE woman after disturbing some wood lice under a stone in the garden, 'Oh, I can't abide they chisel-pigs; they makes I cruddleall up.' 79-1-1

76-4-5 CO. ANTRIM woman looked at sky and called to her daughter: 'Come back here now and fetch yer mac. There's a plomp o' rain comin''.

NORTHUMBRIAN villager at post office: 'I wants one o' they envelopes that you lap o'er an' clag doon'. 75-2-10

72-2-10 ELDERLY Cornishman after strenuous bell-ringing practice, when a last peal was called for: 'Aw, I'll take the treble. I don't want to have to fraip un. I want one that'll just truckle'. [*Fraip*: to toil at. *Truckle*: to run easily.]

A guinea is offered for the best paragraph; it must be true and original. Also-rans, if printed, earn the usual rate. This quarter the guinea goes to Mark Taylor for the first.

Summer 1969
(Vol 72 No 2)

72·2·4 GLOUCESTERSHIRE man farming from the road: 'Looks like oats. The leaves be comin' up picket [pointed]. Barley's broader'.

71·2·11 VERY poor woman in south of Ireland, accused of meanness: 'God knows Oi'm not tight. 'Tis the times is scroogin' meself'.

71·2·10 COTSWOLD gardener in sheltered spot: 'It's burra down here, but up the top that's a roughish old wind'.

MALAPROPISMS

71·2·9 SURREY woman, of hedgehog which is getting sleepy: 'Ah, that shows as 'e's going to inebriate for the winter'.

71·1·7 SHROPSHIRE woman, startled by the hooting of neighbour's new car: "Er thinks 'er owns the road, 'onkin' away at us, and 'er sittin' there all tranquillised'.

OLD SOMERSET WOMAN to a neighbour: 'I like animals, but I'm getting fed up with your tom-cat using my privy hedge as his toilet'.

83·1·3

WESTMORLAND CHIMNEY-SWEEP, discounting talk of water shortages: 'Na, na, if Thirlmere's dry we've all Windermere to drink; and then we'll be drinking t' sea watter – but, mind you, they'll 'a' ter putrefy it.'

87·4·1

SOMERSET REMARK: ''Tis not so bad now. I think the wind's debated a bit.'

86·3·3

REMARKS on a recent wedding: 'Eh, she were a grand bride, and the bridesmaids looked bonnie too. Each of 'em carried a bunch of Friesians in 'er 'and.'

87·1·8

FISHERMAN of Co. Wexford, Eire, describing the behaviour of a friend after their successful outing on the Irish Sea and their celebration thereof: 'Boy, boy, to be shure he was teatotally drunk'

86·3·3

1 NEAR a baby welfare centre a mother was accounting for her infant's tears: 'I've just taken him to be humanised.' 79·1·3

2 SHROPSHIRE farm worker commenting on his health after a spell in hospital: 'I be much better now. They gave me one of them there blood confusions'. 78·3·7

3 HEREFORDSHIRE woman telling of the profitable sale of friend's very rural cottage: 'And that do have no heat, light nor sanity'. 77·4·1

4 WEST INDIAN workman, arriving unexpectedly: 'I just come on a wild goose chance'. 77·2·3

5 SURREY cottager, asked name of fine bush in her garden: 75·2·7
'A flowering primus'.

1

74·1·8 SERVING maid, on being shown picture painted by em-
ployer: 'Ain't it lovely! It's quite an eyesore'.

2

" OLD Somerset woman, of rector's rather mannered sermons: 'Us doesn't understand all them haxycrack [aristocratic] words'. About a serious accident: 'I 'opes as 'e don't catch the kangaroo' [gangrene]. 73·2·11

A guinea is offered for the best paragraph; it must be true and original. Also-rans, if printed, earn the usual rate. This quarter the guinea goes to E. B. Baber for the first.

Winter 69 (73·2)

NON-SEQUITURS

3

BERKSHIRE roadman to shopkeeper: 'I'll have two ounces of my usual (tobacco) this week, then I shall have some when I ain't got none'. 78·4·4 4

4

OVERHEARD in a Highland inn: 'Ach; there's folks dyin' now as never died afore.' 79·3·5 5

5

DORSET old age pensioner on receiving a rather late lunch from Meals on Wheels: 'I knew you wouldn't forget me, anyhow not without letting me know'. 78·4·3 3

CORNISH woman entering a friend's house and finding it empty: 77·2·12
'There's nobuddy in but the cat and 'ee's gone out'.

A pound is offered for the best paragraph; it must be true and original. Also-rans, if printed, earn the usual rate. This quarter the pound goes to Mrs Barbara Evans of Addis Ababa for the first.

177

WELSHMAN talking to passenger on bus: 'I come from Portmadoc'. 77·2·10
Woman: 'Oh, I got a brother there, buried he is'.

3 LANCASHIRE woman, asked for news of neighbour: 73·2·3
'Oo's 'ad aw 'er teeth out, an' a noo fireplace put in'.

71·1·12 CLEANER, picking up button from floor of old people's home, to resident: 'You should look after your buttons. A button's 'andy when you 'aven't got one'.

A guinea is offered for the best paragraph; it must be true and original. Also-rans, if printed, earn the usual rate. This quarter the guinea goes to B. E. Parr for the second.

1.2 By a similar process of association the noun pod has come to mean 'a large protuberant stomach', and in Suffolk one who acquired such a stomach was said to run to pod. EDD 4, 564.

1.3 That this is a traditional phrase is demonstrated by a line in Carr's Dialect of Craven, in the West Riding . . . (1828): "Gloarin' wi' her een like any hullet in a loup hole." EDD 3, 261. A loup-hole is a north-country word for a slit in the wall of a barn, but also for a hole in a wall for sheep to go through, as in the Yorkshire phrase a mouth like a Low-country loop-hole, meaning 'a wide mouth'. EDD 3, 658.

2.1 The saying has a venerable ancestry. In Ray's A Collection of English Proverbs (1678) we find You put it together with a hot needle and burnt thread. ODEP, p. 656 cites no other instances. Cf, to put in a stitch for a friend (w. Cor.), 'to sew hurriedly and badly'. EDD 5, 770.

2.2 To catch the wind in a net (rather than a mitten), signifying 'to attempt the difficult or impossible', was a phrase much used by sixteenth-century authors in particular. ODEP, p. 111. Similar expressions are legion. Thus to cut smoke with a leather hatchet (Nhp,), to eat stir-pudding with an awl (Shr.), to sup sowens (oatmeal and water) with an elshin (awl) (Ayr.), to gape against a red-hot oven (Nrf.), to get blood from a turnip (N.I), to stop an oven with butter (Chs.), RSF, p.166, and to go whistling jigs to a milestone (Ir), RSF, p. 171.

Of similar import is to whistle the lavrocks from out of the lift (w. Yks.). EDD 6, 470.

2.4 Compare the role of alliteration in as big as a barn side, as big as a bushel, as big as bull beef, EDD 1, 261, and in as hard as a whore's heart, recorded by R.P. in N. Shields, 1973. As hardened as Pharaoh occurs in in RSF, p. 159, but not in EDD. Cf. also hard as a beggar boy's heart, referred to by A.H. in 1980 as an expression used by her mother, a Londoner born and bred.

2.5 skitter = 'scamper'. EDD 5, 483.

3.1 Less evocative is Th' craws plaays football, used to describe the circling of large numbers of rooks in the air, allegedly a sign of rain. RSF, p. 315.

3.2 Croodled up suggests a hunched or cowering attitude. EDD 1, 805. Thrutched suggests 'huddled up' rather than the meaning given. EDD 6, 126.

3.5 twitch-bell etc. is a northern term. See SED IV.8.11. Likewise the more drastic, now apparently obsolete twitch-ballock. EDD 6, 289.

5.1 Compare It runs on gingerbread wheels, frequently said of unreliable timepieces by E.S., born Buxton, Der., 1901. Gingerbread meaning 'fragile' etc. was widely used. EDD 2, 618.

5.2 Anything crooked, e.g. a badly combed parting, was said

by E.S. to be as straight as a dog's hind leg. Cf. in and out as a dog's hinder leg (e. Suf.), meaning 'not to be depended on'. EDD 3, 313.

5.3 Cf. the expression, also used of loosely woven cloth, as cowarse as an ass riddle (w. Yks.), EDD 5, 99, in which ass of course signifies 'ash'. Could our example have arisen through misinterpretation of the word ass?

6.1 This is obviously a variation on the proverb The sun does not shine on both sides of the hedge at once, of which only one instance is cited in ODEP, p. 786. Besides at the Greek Calends or at latter Lammas the dialects provide a host of humorous expressions for 'never', such as o' St. Pawsle's (n. Yks.), on Whistlecock Monday (Nhb.), at Midsummer-come-never (w. Yks.), etc. See RSF, pp. 174 f. and EDD.

7.3 Cf. northern and Midlands better than a thump on the back with a stone. EDD 6, 128, and E.S. better than a smack in the eye.

7.5 Perhaps the implication is that cabbage is green. Cf. Do you see any green in my eye? ODEP, p. 337. Similar expressions of incredulity are You could tell that up in Devonshire (Co.), Give a cat a canary (Shr.), and You fry your feet (e. Suf.). RSF, p. 181.

8.1 wear up = 'wear out'. See EDD 6, 412.

8.3 Neither use nor ornament is by no means unfamiliar to me.

8.5 A translation is probably necessary, but can hardly do justice to the original: "Look here, you great blockhead, I'll make you do as you're told or box your ears soundly. You're nothing but a disgrace." RSF, p. 178 gives further expressions to match this and its neighbours.

10.3 Calf-licked is northern for 'having hair on the forehead which will not lie flat' according to EDD 1, 490. In my experience, however, calf-lick refers to an irregular growth of hair anywhere on the scalp (Der.).

11.2 This well-attested simile derives from the proverb The toad said to the harrow, "Cursed be so many lords", which can be traced back to the twelfth century (ODEP, p. 826) and has also presumably given rise to the metaphor to be under the harrow (EAP, H.86).

11.3 Cf. like a cow handling a musket (nw. Dev.), EDD 1, 755 and as nimble as a cow in a cage, RSF, p. 159.

11.5 A variant of to cry/complain before one is hurt, ODEP, p. 158, EAP, C274.

11.6 Cf. "She [. . .] ran to the window with her breath in her hand." (Shr.) EDD 1, 392.

12.3 RSF, p. 161, gives short and sweet like a donkey's gallop, but without provenance. Cf. also the widespread snail's-gallop and snail's-trot, EDD 5, 567. Also ODEP, p. 747 and EAP, S266.

13.1 Cf. as fine as a carrot new scraped (Chs. etc.), ODEP, p. 258 and smart as a carrot half-scraped (Suf.), EDD 1, 525. Of similar import is to be set out like lamb and sallit (n. Yks.), 'to be gaily dressed', EDD 3, 511.

13.5 Surprisingly, this is neither newly coined nor restricted to Cornwall. As early as 1565 we find the proverb Perilous it is, to carry too high a sail upon a rotten mast. ODEP, p. 692. Cf. to carry a tight swagger on a rotten mast (n. Yks), 'to make a great show on insufficient means', EDD 5, 861. A swagger is a ship's flag.

14.2 A widespread saying, with numerous variants. It is no doubt related to the story, of which the Grimms published one version in their Household Tales, in which a princess fattened a louse until it was the size of a calf, slew it and had a dress made of its skin. That man was to be her husband who could guess the provenance of the garment. LSR 2, 580. Cf. also 15.2.

15.3 According to an ancient tradition, those who in this life were guilty of certain vices, including avarice and rapacity, were condemned in the next world to such fruitless tasks as plaiting sawdust, weaving ropes of sand, or emptying a lake with a sieve or shell. Thus in parts of Switzerland a miser is still referred to as a 'sawdust plaiter' (Sagmelchnüpfer). LSR 3, 786. At the same time there is the implication that a miser

would be ingenious enough to make ropes from sawdust, just as he might perform such improbable feats as straightening nails, peeling an orange in his pocket (14.4, 14.5) etc.

16.1 Fat as a mowdywarp is well attested for Notts. EDD 4, 178.

16.5 A rasher of wind and a fried snowball is one of those devious replies, called put-offs, used to fob off importunate questions, in this case about the menu for the next meal.

17.3 Cf. hardly able to stride over a straw (n. Yks.), EDD 5, 808.
17.4 See also EAP, S487.

17.5 Of a very thin person it is said that he shames his pasture. RSF, p. 170. Conversely, a stout healthy-looking person is said not to shame his meat or keep (Gall., n. and e. Yks.) EDD 5, 352.

18.2 Pawkie is a diminutive form of poke, 'bag'. Of a gossiping woman it is also said She's in and out of folkses housen like a fiddler's elbow (s. Chs.), RSF, p. 161 and EDD 2, 348, or that she spins street yarn (Shr.) or street-webs (Nhp.), EDD 5, 664 f.

18.3 Dumbledore is restricted to the southern and south Midland counties, and not surprisingly it features in many similes, such as a-buz'n away like a dumbley dory in a snoxun (foxglove) (Glo.), EDD 5, 597.

18.5 Recorded for west Somerset as early as 1888. EDD 3, 353.

19.1 Cf. tongue-pie (Cor.), a dish of tongue (northern), EDD 6, 186 f.

19.2 Cf. like Jan Tresize's geese, never happy unless they be where they bain't, recorded for Cornwall in 1880. EDD 1, 198.

19.6 Cf ninepence to the shilling (Glos., Lincs.), ODEP, p. 567.

20.1 He knows not B from a bull's foot can be traced back to the beginning of the fifteenth century. ODEP, p. 437.

20.2 The expression is widespread. See EDD 5, 608 and 1, 488. A simpleton is a cake or cakey.

20.4 Kittle is 'unstable, capricious', EDD 3, 631, but Kittle-Harry appears to be without antecedents. On the other hand Dick's hatband, that went nine times round and would not meet, is the nub of many similes. See ODEP, p. 185 and EDD 2, 65 f.

20.5 A cat in pattens is a frequent mode of comparison. EDD 1, 537.

21.1 Cows, also, are ignorant: to know no more than a cow does to churn buttermilk or than a cow does of Greek. EAP, C328.

22.3 When I see shells I guess eggs is glossed 'There's no smoke without fire', RSF, p. 173. No provenance given.

23.2 Perhaps suggested by to wear two faces under one hat (Der.), 'to practise deceit'. EDD 2, 273. The no doubt related to bear two faces/heads in one hood can be traced back

as far as the fifteenth century. ODEP, p. 850.

23.5 ODEP, p. 539; EAP, M214.

23.6 A dialectal version of You cannot have two forenoons in the same day. ODEP, p. 850. Only one instance cited.

24.1 Clearly based on the proverb A bleating sheep loses her bit, ODEP, p. 66. Cf. The ass that brays most eats least, ODEP, p. 22.

24.3 ODEP, p. 871; EDD 5, 769.

24.4 Every man bows to the bush he gets bield of is glossed by Kelly (1721): "Every Man pays court to him that he gains by." ODEP, p. 79. Cf. Ramsay (1737): A wee bush is better than nae bield, and Better a wee buss than nae beild (Cum.). EDD 1, 260.

25.4 Possibly modelled on Rain before seven: fine before eleven. ODEP, p. 662.

26.1 Likewise in my own family (Der.). Farther north, in Thornton near Bradford, It isn't often t' kitten takes a mouse to t' owd cat has been recorded. LL 1,2 (Jan,, 1970), p. 5.

26.2 Cf. Kindness begets kindness. EAP, K16.

26.3 A fuller version is: He that buys land buys many stones; he that buys flesh buys many bones; he that buys eggs buys many shells; but he that buys good ale buys nothing else. ODEP, p. 96.

27.2 Common in my family (Der.).

27.4 Sludder is 'mud, mire'. EDD 5, 540.

28.1 Cf. to rain pitchforks with the tines downward (n. Lin.). EDD 5, 16.

28.5 Cf. EAP, W100: Six weeks' sledding in March.
28.6

29.1 Adlin is 'headland'. EDD 3, 110.

29.3 Jaws and claws frequently go together in sayings, as in the proverb Don't let your jaws outrun your claws. ODEP, p. 410.

29.4 Penkers, or pankers, are in fact large marbles made of stone or iron. EDD 4, 418.

29.5 Lungeous occurs throughout the north and Midlands for 'rough, violent in play', EDD 3, 693.

30.1 Piff is presumably 'puff'. See EDD 4, 493.

30.2 The obsolete cheslop, for 'wood-louse', became chissel-bob in some southern counties. EDD 1, 590. It is possible that, by popular etymology, this became chisel-pig. Probably no other creature rejoices in so many names . . . . Cruddle up means 'curl up', EDD 1, 822.

30.4 Lap is 'fold'. EDD 3, 521. Clag is 'stick'. EDD 1, 609.

31.2 Scrouge is general dialectal usage for 'press'. It also means 'to economize', and hence 'a stingy, niggardly

person'. EDD 5, 287 f. Thus, possibly, the name of Dickens's miser in Christmas Carol.

31.3 Burrow is a south Midlands word for 'shelter' or 'sheltered'. EDD 1, 455.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

EAP Whiting, Bartlett Jere. Early American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1977.

EDD Wright, Joseph. The English Dialect Dictionary. 6 vols., 1898-1905; rept. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

LL Lore and Language.

LSR Röhrich, Lutz. Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten. 4 vols., Freiburg: Herder, 1977.

ODEP Smith, William George. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs. 3rd edn., rev. by F. P. Wilson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

RSF Wright, E. M. Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore. London: Oxford University Press, 1913.

SED Orton, Harold, et al. Survey of English Dialects. Leeds: Arnold, 1962-71.

A Note on Two Dialect Words in The Return of the Native

Although Joseph Wright in his English Dialect Dictionary[1] drew copiously on the works of Thomas Hardy for examples of dialectal usage, one of the books he passed over was The Return of the Native.[2] In fact, most of the difficult dialect expressions to be found in this entered EDD from other sources, so that the assiduous reader will not generally go short of relevant information, but there are a few forms, such as mollyhorning and black-hearts, on which he will consult Wright in vain.

The former expression occurs when Fairway addresses Clym Yeobright as follows: "We were wondering what could keep you home here mollyhorning about when you have made such a world-wide name for yourself. . . ."[3] The notes to the New Wessex Edition of The Return of the Native inform us that mollyhorning means 'messing or playing about wastefully',[4] while Pinion in the glossary appended to his A Hardy Companion gives 'gallivanting'.[5] In the absence of other occurrences of mollyhorning one can only hypothesize about its origin and precise meaning. A moll-hern, molly-hern etc. is a heron,[6] John Clare's "solitary crane", a bird less remarkable for any impression of levity than for its retiring habits, of which Clym Yeobright's sequestered way of life on Egdon Heath could well have reminded the local inhabitants.

As for black-hearts,[7] the commentaries agree in glossing this as 'whortleberries', and indeed there can be no doubt as to this interpretation. According to the Survey of English Dialects, whortleberries, or bilberries, are known as whorts or (h)urts over a large part of southern England, including

Dorset.[8] Occasionally the vowel is in the region of *a*, so that at Hambledon in Hampshire we find something like *warts*, and at Portesham in Dorset something like *arts*, while at Burley in Hampshire we find what in conventional spelling could best be represented as *black-harts*. Whether association with *heart* played any part in shaping this form one cannot say, but certainly Hardy's spelling *black-hearts*[9] reflects such an association.

Although these examples are insignificant in themselves, they will perhaps help to show not only that the exegesis of dialect in Hardy's works is by no means complete, but also that his renderings of the vernacular contain much that can contribute to the present-day study of Wessex dialects.

1. Joseph Wright, ed., The English Dialect Dictionary (1898 - 1905; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1970), referred to below as EDD.

2. But see Yoshinoshin Goto, "Thomas Hardy Quoted in OED and EDD", rpt. from Memoirs of Suzuka College of Technology, No. 1 (Copy in Dorset County Library, Dorchester), p. 39, which shows that one word from The Return of the Native is in fact quoted in EDD. This must be "nunnywatch", at EDD, iv, 275, under ninny.

3. Book 3, Chapter 1.

4. Thomas Hardy, The Return of the Native (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 416.

5. F. B. Pinion, A Hardy Companion (1968; rpt. with alterations London: Macmillan, 1976), p. 526.

6. EDD, iv, 147 tells us that it is especially the female bird. Compare jackdaw, jenny wren, magpie etc., in which the first element is also a proper name.

7. Book 5, Chapter 2.

8. Harold Orton et al., eds., Survey of English Dialects (Leeds: Arnold, 1962 - 71), iv, ii, 495. For a map showing the distribution, see Harold Orton and Nathalia Wright, A Word Geography of England (London: Seminar, 1974), p. 257.

9. In EDD, vi, Supplement, 32, we also find black-wort for Warwickshire, a county which Orton shows as belonging to the northern bilberry area.

A22

Dialect in Thomas Hardy's Shorter Stories

While a good deal has been written about Hardy's use of dialect, most discussions of the subject have centred on the novels.[1] In fact, dialect also plays an important part in many of the shorter stories, and we do not have to look far in these for explicit references to the question of standard and non-standard English. Thus, at the beginning of "The Son's Veto", Sophy is upbraided by her son for using have instead of has. "That question of grammar bore upon her history," Hardy remarks (ii, 34),[2] and, indeed, it also bears upon her future, it gradually becomes clear. In "On the Western Circuit" we are told that Anna is taught by her mistress to talk correctly (ii, 95), an accomplishment that stands her in good stead in the initial stages of her relationship with Raye, since if she had been rough-spoken he would hardly have been deluded into believing that she had penned the letters he received from her. Comparable versatility, though without similar consequences, is shown in "Dame the Tenth" by the hotel page-boy, who picks up the polite accent of the summer guests, but in winter reverts to the local dialect "in all its purity" (i, 351 f.).

In such examples, not surprisingly in view of Hardy's preoccupation with class, the emphasis is on dialect in the vertical, social, dimension. Even when he refers to geographical differences, they too can take on social significance. Thus, in "The Fiddler of the Reels" the distinct London accent which Car'line has acquired after two or three years in the metropolis is one of the attributes which seem to mark her off from her past, and which will perhaps act as a kind of talisman when she returns to Wessex (ii, 133). After this Car'line remains silent, so that we can have no idea of how, or if, Hardy would have represented a West Country accent overlaid with Cockney. However, it is perhaps significant that Car'line's husband Ned, who has lived in London four years longer than she, seems at the end to have made no concessions to its accent, thus bearing out Orton's remark that "in this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently and more genuinely than women".[3] Shadrach and Joanna Jolliffe in "To Please his Wife" are another pair who seem to corroborate this.

Elsewhere Hardy will render a non-Wessex dialect by using clipped forms and colloquialisms. Thus in "Enter a Dragoon" Sergeant-Major Clark, who, "not being of local extraction, despised the venerable local language," is characterized by "Sakes alive!", "ain't", and sentences such as: "There's a nine-gallon cask o' "Phoenix" beer outside . . ., for I thought you might be short o' forage in a lonely place like this." (ii, 306-309) Here "forage" also gives a whiff of military usage.

But even within Wessex there is geographical variation, we gather. Does not Shepherdess Fennel in "The Three Strangers" detect in the speech of the first stranger the accent of her home (i, 19), which is apparently in the neighbourhood of Blandford Forum? However, the subtle differences which her ear makes out seem not to be rendered in the text, and it will be appropriate to ask at this point to what extent Wessex dialects are actually differentiated in Hardy's shorter stories.

In Hardy's shorter stories characters who speak dialect come from all parts of Wessex, from Reading in the east to the Isles of Scilly in the west, from Dorchester in the south to the Mendips in the north. Over such a wide area there is bound to be much dialectal variation. But before we ask how Hardy comes to terms with it, we must consider his general approach to the question of rendering dialect. In discussing a passage from Under the Greenwood Tree, Page remarks that "there are, strictly speaking, no dialect words, and the indications of non-standard grammar and pronunciation are not very numerous. What gives this dialogue its distinctive quality is the command of colloquial idiom." Other factors which Page lists as contributing to the impression of dialect are the colloquial sentence patterns and the generally rather formal character of the narrative, which, with its learned vocabulary and elaborate syntax, provides a foil for the dialect speeches.[4] The latter point probably applies less to the shorter stories, but the point about colloquial sentence patterns and formulaic expressions certainly holds. Take the following speech from "What the Shepherd Saw":

> 'Blame thy young eyes and limbs, Bill Mills - now you have let the fire out, and you know I want it kept in! I thought something would go wrong with 'ee up here, and I couldn't bide in bed no more than thistledown on the wind, that I could not! Well, what's happened, fie upon 'ee?'
>
> (ii, 332)

There is nothing in this that marks it out as peculiar to Wiltshire. Syntax and phraseology give it a dialectal ring, and there is a scattering of non-standard lexical items (e.g. bide) and 'phonetic' spellings (e.g. hollerday a little later on). The use of dialect grammar is sporadic, thou etc. alternating with you etc., for instance. This latter type of variation is entirely characteristic of Hardy. Whether or not it accurately reflects the usage of the time, it certainly helps the reader.

Hardy's approach seems to be similar when he moves even farther afield. Take "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid", which was originally set in Dorset,[5] but then transferred to Devon. Hardy not only changed the locale, but also adjusted the dialect, though for a variety of reasons. For instance, when "the night-jar sounding his rattle" becomes "the night-hawk sounding his croud" (ii, 417), or the "cruel conspiracy" suspected by Margery becomes a "footy plot" (ii, 465), it is primarily for reasons of style or characterization, one imagines.

But when you, do, two etc. become yew, dew, tew etc., as they fairly regularly do, the aim is obviously to represent the front, close, rounded vowel which is a well-known feature of Devonshire pronunciation. This, however, seems to be Hardy's only positive attempt to represent Devonshire dialect. Elsewhere his changes are negative, in the sense that he will replace by a less dialectal expression one which probably seemed to him to be too closely associated with Dorset. Thus "hontish" becomes "haughty" (ii, 451), and "vlankers" is transformed into "sparks" (ii, 466). Moreover, "keakhorn" becomes "wyndpipe" (ii, 417), although cacorne is no stranger to Devon according to Wright's English Dialect Dictionary (= EDD).[6]

"A Mere Interlude" is set still farther to the west, mainly in Penzance and the Scilly Isles, and the most striking regionalism in the renderings of dialect is, apart from the adjective wisht, Mr Heddegan's frequent use of mee deer as a form of address. Otherwise, even in a longish speech such as that by the hotel maid (ii, 398), the impression of dialect is sustained without the inclusion of any feature that could be identified as peculiar to Cornwall.

If we now return to Hardy's native Dorset, we shall find that his strategies for representing its dialect do not differ materially from those outlined above. As Quirk points out in discussing varieties of English, regional variation seems to be rendered predominantly in phonology,[7] and it is precisely in representing phonology that Hardy makes the greatest concessions to those of his readers who are unfamiliar with Wessex dialects, since non-standard spellings are not very frequent, and, of those he does use, a good number, such as o' for of and 'twas for it was, are not exclusive to dialect, let alone peculiar to Dorset. Dialect grammar and lexis are of course represented, if sporadically, but since examples of these seldom remain obediently within the boundaries of any one shire, there is not a great deal in Hardy's Dorset stories to identify the dialect in itself as belonging specifically to that county. Thus, if we consult EDD for the distribution of the forty-three dialect words listed in the glossary to Volume 1 of the stories in the New Wessex Edition, we find that, of the thirty-seven listed by Wright, only two, a-scram and ewe-lease, are not recorded as occurring beyond the confines of Dorset, though this in itself is of course not proof that they are localisms. Moreover, although a sentence such as "Andrew knew no more of music than the Giant o' Cernel" (ii, 171) might be cited to the contrary, idiom, phraseology and sentence patterns are on the whole even less easy to identify as belonging to a particular area, and it is these that make a major contribution to the dialectal flavouring of the dialogue, as Page has pointed out.

If we pick out at random a couple of lines by William Barnes, we shall find that his approach to the representation of dialect is quite different from Hardy's. Take:

> 'Well run, an' ax vor woone. Fling up your heels,
> An' mind: a speäde to dig out theäsem wheels,
> An' hook to cut a little lock o' widdicks.'[8]

Here we have an attempt to represent specifically Dorset dialect at all levels, but at the expense of comprehensibility, at least for the desultory reader. For obvious reasons, Hardy could not afford to pay such a price, and in any case, as a writer of stories he had at his disposal a most effective device for suggesting local dialect: he could in his narrative give detailed information about the locale, the provenance of speakers, and even peculiarities of their pronunciation.

In the lines quoted above, over a third of the forms are non-standard, and this is by no means unusual for Barnes. By comparison, in Hardy's vernacular tale "A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four" the incidence of dialectal forms is less than 3%, while in "The Grave by the Handpost" it reaches the unusually high proportion of nearly 13%. To be more precise, this last figure applies only to speeches by the Chalk-Newton choir. If we take Luke Holway's speeches, only 1.5% of forms are non-standard, and most of these are not exclusively dialectal. Here, then, we return to the question of language as a social indicator, since it is clear that Hardy is making use of dialect to distinguish between the returning soldier who has risen above his peasant origins, and the humble countrymen who stayed at home.

However, we must not assume that dialect is reserved by Hardy for the lower classes. There is a certain type of rusticated squire who is as broad as any shepherd. Take Squire Everard in "The Waiting Supper", whose voice is "strongly toned with the local accent, so that he said 'draïns' and 'geäts' like the rustics on his estate" (ii, 215). His Doric is only matched by that of his colleague, the Squire of Athelhall.

Are we, then, to assume that those in the middle of the social scale are the only ones to be relatively free of dialect? Certainly Nicholas Long, the yeoman farmer in "The Waiting Supper", starts off with far fewer non-standard features than Squire Everard, and returns from his travels after fifteen years with none at all. However, it is the urban middle classes of Wessex who approach nearest to the standard, Barnet and Downes in "Fellow Townsmen", the Harnhams in "On the Western Circuit", the Franklands in "For Conscience' Sake". When we come to look at those whose position is somewhere between the social extremes in rural, rather than urban, communities, the picture is a more complex one.

In "Interlopers at the Knap", for instance, Helena is the "daughter of a deceased naval officer, who had been brought up by her uncle a solicitor" (i, 143).

She shows no sign of dialect. Her husband Philip, though of more modest background, has received an education, and has travelled overseas. His speech is not at all dialectal, unless we count the occasional 'twas, but it is less formal ("'Don't let me ruin you by being seen in these togs, for Heaven's sake.'" "'I am confoundedly thirsty with my long tramp'". (i, 134)) Next comes Charles Darton, "a gentleman-farmer - quite a wealthy man" (i, 134), whose speech is on the whole marked by colloquialisms rather than dialect proper (0.7%). Sally Hall, the woman he hopes to marry, and her mother, "a substantial dairyman's widow" who has been brought up "not without refinement" (i, 135), are considered, at least by themselves, to be slightly below Darton on the social scale. They use the occasional colloquialism or dialect expression (1%). Japheth Johns, a dairyman and friend of Charles Darton, speaks quite a broad dialect. The incidence of dialect forms is 5%, but this figure does not take into account his idiosyncratic manner of expressing himself ("'I have faced tantalization these twenty years with a temper as mild as milk!'" (i, 130), "his well-known style" (i, 140), as Hardy calls it. This reinforces the impression of broad dialect without inconveniencing the reader. Here, then, we have an attempt to represent not just dialect, but idiolect, even down to peculiarities of pronunciation (natyves, contrairy). Finally we have the boy Ezra, who speaks broad dialect (10.5%).

In general, the evidence is that characters express their social status purely through the incidence of non-standard forms they use. At a given point they will choose between the two forms that are available, the standard and the non-standard. There seem to be few clear instances of a subtler gradation, such as that hinted at by Mrs Dewy, which enables a character to place himself on a scale descending from potatoes at the top, through pertatoes and taters, down to the taties used by common workfolk (UGT, Pt 1, Ch.8). It may, however, be that am not, 'm not, ain't and bain't etc. represent a similarly complex system. The first two are standard, 'm not being less formal, while bain't etc. was, until quite recently at least, the form used by the agricultural classes in Dorset, although ain't is gradually spreading westwards from the London area.[9] In Hardy's works there are fifty-one occurrences of the endemic forms bain't (= 'am not', 'are not'), idden (= 'is not') etc., and only eight of ain't.[10] Of the five Dorset characters who use this form, none belongs unambiguously to the rural working classes. Take 'Melia in "The Ruined Maid", whose talking now fits her for high company (PPP). And take Shadrach Jolliffe, whose "Ay, sure; I ain't particular" near the beginning of "To Please his Wife" (ii, 107) unobtrusively helps build up a picture of the taciturn seafarer whose speech and attitudes have been moulded by Dorset, but modified by his wider experience.

So far the indications are that dialect varies considerably according to the kind of person who is speaking. But what evidence is there that it varies

in accordance with the situation? We have seen that a person will change his dialect in accordance with his circumstances and return to his native haunts a changed man, speaking a different kind of English. Bill Mills in "What the Shepherd Saw" provides a striking example of this. But what of the transient changes that occur in response to a momentary situation and/or the company one is keeping at a given time? Changes of this kind would appear to be not very numerous.

Patricia Ingham has shown that in the novels, although major characters with a dialectal background do switch codes, they are made to do so by Hardy not necessarily as in real life, to suit their hearer, but in accordance with the broader requirements of the particular novel in question, to underline social contrasts. Thus in his revision of Far from the Madding Crowd Hardy actually strengthened Gabriel Oak's dialect in precisely those speeches where one would expect an approximation to the standard.[11] In the shorter stories there is of course less scope for such variation, and where it occurs it often seems to be handled in a different way. For instance, in "The Withered Arm" Rhoda Brook starts off, in her conversations with her son, with some traces of dialect, but these rapidly fade away, and by the time she has met Gertrude Lodge all vestiges are gone. Even when talking to herself she is now capable of a sentence such as: "'O, can it be . . . that I exercise a malignant power over people against my own will?'" (i, 64) It is as if Hardy allows Rhoda Brook to grow out of her dialect as her stature increases in his eyes. But even where dialect recedes, forms of address remain as an important social indicator: Gertrude calls Rhoda by her christian name, but is addressed by her as ma'am, except at the very end. One is reminded of the explicit reference to the use of madam in "An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress". Geraldine tacitly forbids Egbert, although he is her lover, to use a more intimate form of address. Madam is symbolic of the barrier between them, "and she may have caught at it as the only straw within reach of that dignity or pride of birth which was drowning in her impetuous affection." (ii, 80)

Forms of address can also on occasion match subtle variations in a person's tone of voice. "The Distracted Preacher" provides us with an interesting example. Here the type of variation we observe seems to reflect fluctuations in human relationships rather than the status of particular characters: Stockdale has previously addressed Lizzy Newberry by her christian name, but as their relationship comes under strain he reverts to a more formal title:

> 'You are going indoors, Mrs Newberry?' he said.
> She knew from the words 'Mrs Newberry' that the division between them had widened yet another degree.
> 'I am not going home,' she said. 'I have a little thing to do before I go in. Martha Sarah will get your tea.' (i, 194)

Here Lizzy responds by herself adopting an almost frozen style. Her non-dialectal pronunciation of 'Martha Sarah' is for instance indicative of this. Compare her normal pronunciation in "'Perhaps you would like Marther Sarer to bring it up?'" (i, 158) Further evidence of the responsiveness of Lizzy Newberry's style to her state of mind is to be found in the scene where she becomes engrossed in telling Stockdale about the technicalities of smuggling:

> 'Then we shan't try anywhere else all this dark . . . and perhaps they'll string the tubs to a stray-line, and sink 'em a little-ways from shore, and take the bearings; and then when they have a chance they'll go to creep for 'em.' (i, 179)

Here parataxis, colloquialisms such as 'em, and dialect expressions such as a little-ways combine to suggest involvement, but the effect is of course heightened by the use of occupational dialect (dark, stray-line, creep etc.)

Occupational dialect, like other forms of dialect, is used by Hardy for a variety of purposes. Like local dialect, it can be embedded in the narrative to provide colour and authenticity, as when Hardy tells us about that part of the Hussars' uniform "which was called the pelisse, though it was known among the troopers themselves as a 'sling-jacket'" (ii, 198). Or it can be used in dialogue, as an aid to characterization, as when Sergeant-Major Clark refers to 'forage' (ii, 306), the seaman Shadrach Jolliffe says "Not that I care a rope's end . . ." (ii, 114), or Harriet Peach the sailor's widow becomes a rather improbable pantomime character not least because of her droll repetition of "avast, my shipmate!" (ii, 470 ff.)

Just as language varies from one occupational group to another, it varies from age-group to age-group. This is a type of variation which Hardy can also render with great economy, as when he captures the restricted syntax and unconventional vocabulary of a small child in: "'And my totties he cold, an' I shan't have no bread an' butter no more!'" (ii, 131), or, at the other end of the spectrum, the drooling baby-talk of amorous old age in: "'Bess its deary-eary heart! it is going to speak to me!'" (iii, 27). In such instances the linguistic peculiarities are to some extent dependent on physiological and psychological factors, but when the linguistic differences between generations reflect changes in society and the outside world we can more properly speak of historical dialect. Old Mrs Chundle's 'I woll' (iii, 14) and Mr Day's 'inkhorn' for 'inkstand' (ii, 191) are cases in point. Here we have residual dialect as Hardy must actually have heard it, but when we come to his historical stories proper we shall have to ask what his strategies were in representing still earlier stages of standard language and dialect, of which he can have had no direct experience.

In his historical stories Hardy generally represents dialect impressionalistically, as in his more modern stories, using a sprinkling of

non-standard forms which are hardly likely to hinder comprehension. Geographical differences are scarcely to be found, but otherwise, except in the children's story "The Thieves Who Couldn't Help Sneezing", which is linguistically rather uniform, the same types of variation occur that we have observed above: other things being equal, men speak more broadly than women (compare Roger and his sister in "Master John Horseleigh, Knight", Squire Dornell and his wife in "Dame the First"), and the upper classes less broadly than their inferiors (compare Lady Baxby with the 'wench' in "Dame the Seventh"), except that the "ordinary bucolic county landlords" have a strong proclivity towards the vernacular. Compare for instance in the following the "shrewd courtier and wise man of the world" Reynard with the rusticated Squire Dornell:

> 'Upon my honour, your charge is quite baseless, sir,' said his son-in-law. 'You must know by this time - or if you do not, it has been a monstrous cruel injustice to me that I should have been allowed to remain in your mind with such a stain upon my character. . . . That you was really opposed to the marriage was not known to me till afterwards.'
>
> Dornell professed to believe not a word of it. 'You shan't have her till she's dree sixes full - no maid ought to be married till she's dree sixes! - and my daughter shan't be treated out of nater!' (i, 231)

Perhaps because dialecticisms (e.g. maid, nater) frequently have an archaic ring about them, Dornell's speech is not otherwise marked as belonging to the eighteenth century, but Hardy has found it necessary to intersperse Reynard's standard with forms redolent of that period (e.g. monstrous cruel, you was) in order to provide temporal colour. Not surprisingly, the farther we go back in time, the more frequent archaisms become. Take for instance the speech of the bystander at the beginning of "Master John Horseleigh, Knight":

> 'I liked him not. . . . He seemed of that kind that hath something to conceal, and as he walked with her he ever and anon turned his head and gazed behind him, as if he much feared an unwelcome pursuer. But, faith,' continued he, 'it may have been the man's anxiety only. Yet did I not like him.' (ii, 361)

In order to match such an archaistic style, dialect, too, has to be interspersed with archaisms:

> 'The fond thing! I thought it; 'twas too quick - she was ever amorous. What's to become of her! God wot! How be I going to face her with the news. . . ?' (ii, 366)

Reference was made above to Page's remark that in Hardy's novels the easy naturalness of the dialect speeches is all the more striking by contrast with the formal style of the narrative. A similar claim could hardly be made about the shorter stories, since here the narrative style is generally less formal and, indeed, can on occasion be colloquial, or even dialectal. Some of the stories in A Group of Noble Dames are for instance couched in the somewhat conversational style of their alleged narrators, while the 'framework' of "A Few Crusted Characters" gives an opportunity for dialectal narrative.

However, this reduction in the tension between narrative and dialogue in the shorter stories is only relative, except perhaps in "A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four", and in any case other types of contrast are possible. Different varieties of English can act as a foil for each other in dialogue, as when the Duke interviews the shepherd boy in "What the Shepherd Saw (ii, 339 f.), or, more subtly, since dialect as such does not come into play, when the Marchioness visits Milly in 'Dame the Third' (i, 287 f.). The effect is underlined when speakers with different linguistic backgrounds 'echo' one another:

> 'Now, father, listen!' she sobbed: 'if you taunt me I'll go off and join him. . . !'
> 'I don't taant ye!' (ii, 234 f.)
>
> 'Hang it, ye look so tired and wisht. . . !'
> 'I am - weary and wisht, David; I am!' (ii, 401)

In this last example Baptista's uncharacteristic lapse into dialect is indicative of her spiritual and physical exhaustion.

Moreover, the 'framework' technique offers opportunities for surprise and irony, as when, in "A Few Crusted Characters", a curate is called upon to render village folk's speech, or a master-thatcher acts the contrasting parts of parson and clerk, or reproduces the Squire's words, but partly in dialect. Even in narrative, where we occasionally come across the phenomenon of 'parallel' or 'coloured' indirect speech,[12] a similar effect can be achieved, but with greater subtlety: "The boy said that she was a widow-woman, who had got no husband, because he was dead." (i, 156) "A little girl crept in at the summons, and made tea for him. Her name, she said, was Marther Sarer, and she lived out there, nodding towards the road and village generally." (i, 157)

Another way in which dialect can encroach on narrative is when, for the sake of local colour or for want of standard equivalents, dialect expressions are embedded in the text. As often as not, Hardy will provide his own explanation where the context does not help the reader sufficiently: "'wuzzes and flames' (hoarses and phlegms)" (i, 14); "a long white pinafore or 'wropper'" (i, 56). In dialogue he will sometimes allow a character to explain: "'all this dark - that's what we call the time between moon and moon'"; "'a creeper - that's a grapnel'" (i, 179). However, it is clear that the latter device can be used only sparingly, and for most readers a glossary will be essential. Those appended to the volumes of the New Wessex Edition containing the shorter stories and to Pinion's Hardy Companion[13] obviously aim to provide unobtrusive help for the general reader rather than a linguistic commentary for the specialist. But even if we accept this objective, we shall still find that a number of dialect expressions have fallen through the net, and I include below all that I have lit upon.[14] Even though many of these are explained by their context, or are so similar to their standard counterparts that any commentary

may seem superfluous, that there is still room for misunderstanding is demonstrated for instance by a German translator's rendering of water-carriers and waterman in "The Waiting Supper" as the equivalent or 'cart' and 'ferryman' respectively.[15] In addition I include a few expressions whose 'official' interpretation seems to me to be open to doubt. My glosses are generally based on those to be found in EDD. Nouns are generally given in the singluar, and verbs in their uninflected form.

VOLUME ONE

p. 60 whew To whistle; to rustle sharply.

p. 97 fleet To float.

p. 118 all's winter All this winter.

p. 131 drong A narrow passage or lane between two walls, hedges, etc.

p. 157 by now Just now. Martha Sarah's "Just by now" is thus tautologous.

p. 179 a little-ways A short distance. This use of the plural ways for the singular is typical of the SW. See EDD, vi, 408 & Grammar § 384.

p. 184 brother-law Brother-in-law.

p. 187 owl's light Twilight, dusk.

p. 195 arm Axle.

p. 269 knotting Hill gives 'knitting'. 'Tatting' seems more likely.

VOLUME TWO

p. 117 cranky Full of twists or windings, crooked.

p. 125 plumness Solidity.

p. 148 sack-bag Sack.

p. 149 swound Swoon, fainting-fit.

p. 151 put, all-fours Names of two card-games.

p. 164 spitish Ready to spit like a cat; spiteful; snappish, out of humour. According to Wright the first syllable is pronounced as spit, and he obviously assumes a link with this verb rather than with spite.

p. 223 water-carrier Ditch, watercourse in water-meadow. Compare carriers at p. 434, which Hardy explains as "narrow artificial brooks for carrying the water over the grass".

p. 228 waterman A man who waters the meadows.
p. 456

p. 302 beaufet A corner cupboard, a recess for holding glass and china, generally with glass doors.

p. 411 tacker-haired A tacker is a shoemaker's waxed thread.

p. 417 rithe "He's been living too rithe." A Hardy Companion (p. 527) has "rithe (or rathe), fast". However, rathe could hardly occur as rithe, and given the occasional tendency for f to become th in the SW,[16] equivalence between rithe and rife suggests itself. Compare the Somerset phrase rife living, meaning 'high living' (EDD under rife).

p. 466 couch-heap Heap of coarse grass roots piled up for burning.

p. 471 'Talian iron An Italian iron was an iron for crimping cap-frills.

p. 472 guide my heart Bless my soul. In exclamations or expletives guide can mean 'keep, preserve'. Compare p. 416: "'Guide the girl's heart! What! don't she know?'"

VOLUME THREE

p. 99 Lord send An exclamation or expletive. (EDD under lord)

p. 174 meanfully Presumably the meaning is 'deliberately'.

1. Among the more wide-ranging studies are: Sabra D. Gilcreast, "The Dorset Dialect in the Wessex Novels of Thomas Hardy" (Columbia University unpublished MA essay, 1956); Patricia Ingham, "Dialect in the Novels of Hardy and George Eliot," in George Watson, ed., Literary English since Shakespeare (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 347-363; Norman Page, Speech in the English Novel (London: Longman, 1973).
2. References are to the hardback issue of the New Wessex Edition: The Stories of Thomas Hardy, ed. F. B. Pinion (London: Macmillan, 1977), vols. i, ii & iii.
3. Harold Orton, Survey of English Dialects: Introduction (Leeds: Arnold, 1962), p. 15.
4. Page, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
5. See Thomas Hardy, Her Shattered Idol or The Romantic Adventures of a Milk Maid (Chicago: Stein, 1910).
6. Joseph Wright, ed., The English Dialect Dictionary (1898-1905; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1970), iii, 403.
7. Randolph Quirk et al., A Grammar of Contemporary English (London: Longman, 1972), p. 14.
8. William Barnes, "The Waggon A-Stooded", Poems of Rural Life (London: Kegan Paul, 1898), p. 199.
9. Harold Orton et al., eds., The Linguistic Atlas of England (London: Croom Helm, 1978), maps M9 - M15 and M27.
10. Yoshinoshin Goto & Mamoru Osawa, eds., [A Draft of] A Hardy Grammar, pp. 156, 162, 164 & 169. (Copy in Dorset County Library, Dorchester.)
11. Ingham, op. cit., p. 354.
12. Page, op. cit., pp. 34-35.
13. F. B. Pinion, A Hardy Companion (1968; rpt. with alterations London: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 521-530.
14. I have, however, generally omitted any dialect words explained in the notes to Thomas Hardy, The Distracted Preacher and Other Tales, ed. Susan Hill (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), pp. 351-361.

15. i.e., 'Karren' and 'Fährmann'. See Thomas Hardy, Der angekündigte Gast, trans. A. W. Freund (Leipzig: Insel, 1928), pp. 23 & 32.

16. See Martyn F. Wakelin, English Dialects: An Introduction, rev. ed. (London: Athlone, 1977), p. 98.

A23

Johann Peter Hebels "Heimliche Enthauptung": Querverbindungen zur mündlichen Überlieferung

Unter den im Jahre 1851 von Bernhard Baader herausgegebenen Volkssagen aus dem Lande Baden findet sich eine Erzählung mit dem Titel "Das heimliche Gericht", die folgenden Wortlaut hat:

"Als der Kurfürst Karl Theodor noch in Mannheim hofhielt, kamen nachts zu dem Scharfrichter in Landau zwei unbekannte Männer und sagten ihm, er könne ein schönes Stück Geld verdienen, wenn er mit ihnen ginge und ein ganz gerechtes Todesurteil vollzöge, ohne jedoch zu wissen, wo und an wem. Der Scharfrichter erklärte sich bereit, ließ sich von den Männern die Augen verbinden und fuhr mit ihnen davon. Während der Fahrt achtete er genau auf deren Dauer, merkte, daß es über eine Brücke und durch ein Festungstor gehe und bald darauf die Kutsche halte. Nachdem man ihn aus dieser gehoben, führte man ihn viele Staffeln hinauf, welche er heimlich zählte, blieb kurz nachher mit ihm stehen und nahm ihm das Tuch von den Augen. Er befand sich in einem von vielen Lichtern erhellten Gemache, worin um einen Tisch eine Anzahl schwarzvermummter Herren saß. Vor dem Tische stand eine Frau, auch mit verhülltem Gesicht, und in ihrer Nähe ein Richtblock. Einer der Herren las nun der Frau ihr Todesurteil vor, worauf sie an dem Block niederkniete und ihren Kopf darauf legte. Ohne Bedenken trat der Scharfrichter hinzu und enthauptete sie. Nach diesem ward er reichlich ausbezahlt und mit verbundenen Augen nach Landau zurückgeführt. Um zu erfahren, wo er gewesen, besuchte er mehrere Schlösser und brachte endlich mit Hilfe dessen, was er sich gemerkt hatte, heraus, daß die Hinrichtung im dritten Stock des Mannheimer Schlosses geschehen sei. Dies war auch der Fall, und die Enthauptete ein Hoffräulein. Der Grund ihrer Hinrichtung ist unbekannt. Gleich nach derselben wurde die Treppe, auf welcher der Scharfrichter aus dem zweiten Stock in das Vorzimmer des Gemachs geführt worden war, oben und unten zugemauert, auch außen an letzterm ein Kreuz aus Erz in die Wand gefügt. In dem Gemache geht das Hoffräulein in weißer Gestalt noch heute um und klagt in wimmernden Tönen."[1]

In seinen Historischen Sagen, wo Baaders Text den 'Rechtssagen' zugeordnet wird, verweist Leander Petzoldt, ohne andere Varianten anzugeben, auf Johann Peter Hebels Kalendergeschichte "Heimliche Enthauptung", die sich mit demselben Stoff befaßt.[2]

Im folgenden versuche ich, die Hauptzüge von Hebels Geschichte wiederzugeben, um so den Zusammenhang mit Baaders Fassung hervortreten zu lassen:

Am 17. Juni (das Jahr wird nicht angegeben) erhielt der Scharfrichter von Landau einen Brief mit dem Auftrag, unverzüglich nach Nancy zu kommen und sein großes Richtschwert mitzubringen. Nachdem er sich in eine Kutsche gesetzt hatte, die für ihn bereitstand und eine Stunde gefahren war - die Sonne ging schon unter - sah er, wie drei bewaffnete Männer an der Straße auf ihn warteten. Sie setzten sich zu ihm und bestanden darauf, daß er sich die Augen zubinden lassen sollte. Noch gute zwölf Stunden, wie es ihm schien, mußte er seine Reise ins Unbekannte fortsetzen, bis die Kutsche vor einem Hause hielt. Hier wurde er, nachdem er sich mit Speise und Trank gestärkt hatte, durch viele Türen und Treppen geführt, und als man ihm die Binde abnahm, befand er sich in einem großen Saal. "Der Saal war ringsum mit schwarzen Tüchern behängt, und auf den Tischen standen Wachskerzen. In der Mitte saß auf einem Stuhl eine Person mit entblößtem Hals und mit einer Larve vor dem Gesicht und muß etwas in dem Mund gehabt haben, denn sie konnte nicht reden, sondern nur schluchzen. Aber an den Wänden standen mehrere Herren in schwarzen Kleidern und mit schwarzem Flor vor den Angesichtern . . .." Einer von ihnen befahl dem Scharfrichter, die Dame zu enthaupten. Zunächst weigerte er sich, und erst als ihm mit einer Pistole gedroht wurde, schlug er der Dame mit einem Hieb den Kopf ab. Nachdem er mit zweihundert Dublonen belohnt worden war, wurde er mit verbundenen Augen zu der Stelle zurückbegleitet, wo die drei Männer ursprünglich zu ihm gestoßen waren. Niemand weiß, wer das Opfer seines Schwertes war, was sie gesündigt hat oder wo sie begraben liegt. 3

Trotz der offensichtlichen inhaltlichen Übereinstimmung dieser beiden Geschichten, die besonders in der Szene im Saal zum Ausdruck kommt, fallen Unterschiede auf, die den Gedanken kaum zulassen, daß die eine der anderen als Vorlage gedient haben könnte. Manche Abweichungen können allerdings dem schablonenhaften Denken der volkstümlichen Überlieferung einerseits und der Sinngebung des gestaltenden Künstlers andererseits zugeschrieben werden. So findet in der Sage, wo der Scharfrichter sein Opfer "ohne Bedenken" enthauptet, die Problematik des Stoffes ihren Niederschlag höchstens darin, daß sie mit der obligaten Spukgeschichte endet, während Hebel

sich wiederholt mit dem Ethischen befaßt und seiner Beunruhigung in kräftigen sinnlichen Bildern Ausdruck zu geben versteht ("die Sonne ging in blutroten Wolken unter", "Da ward's dem armen Scharfrichter, als wenn er auf einmal im eiskalten Wasser stünde bis übers Herz"). Aber die Tatsache z.B., daß die sonst so ungenaue Sage die Regierungszeit des Kurfürsten Karl Theodor erwähnt und den Scharfrichter Ort und Opfer des Vergehens - ohne Begründung übrigens - herausfinden läßt, schließt wohl die Vermutung aus, daß ihr Hebels Geschichte zugrunde liegen könnte. Auch bei Hebel finden wir Züge, die darauf hindeuten, daß seine Vorlage vollständiger war als die Sage, wie wir sie bei Baader antreffen. So findet die Hin- wie auch die Herreise des Scharfrichters in zwei Etappen statt, und so verrichtet er seinen Dienst erst, als man gedroht hat, ihm das Leben zu nehmen.

Zur Bestätigung der Vermutung, daß diese Züge tatsächlich der Überlieferung angehören und nicht hinzugedichtet wurden, müßte man anderen Varianten nachspüren. Überraschenderweise findet sich mindestens eine weitere Fassung in einem englischsprachigen Werk, den 1815 erschienenen Historical Memoirs des Sir Nathaniel Wraxall. Wraxall behauptet, oftmals in Wien und verschiedenen Teilen des Deutschen Reichs von einem Ereignis gehört zu haben, das sich folgendermaßen nacherzählen läßt:

Während eines großen Teils des 18. Jahrhunderts wurde der Bourreau oder Scharfrichter von Straßburg öfters aufgefordert, jenseits des Rheins, und zwar in Schwaben, den badischen Gebieten und dem Breisgau, seines Amtes zu walten. So sprachen eines Nachts im Jahre 1774 oder 1775 Leute bei dem damals amtierenden Nachrichter vor, die verlangten, daß er sie begleiten sollte. Er solle sein Schwert mitnehmen, denn er habe einen Missetäter hohen Ranges zu enthaupten. Er wurde von seinen Begleitern in einer Kutsche nach Kehl gebracht, wo ihm die Augen zugebunden wurden. Am anderen Tag kamen die Reisenden

vor einem mit einem Wassergraben umgebenen Schloß an, die Zugbrücke wurde heruntergelassen, und sie fuhren in den Hof. Nach geraumer Zeit wurde er in einen großen Saal geführt, wo ein mit schwarzen Tüchern behängtes Schafott sich befand, in dessen Mitte ein Schemel oder Stuhl gestellt worden war. Bald trat eine in Trauer gekleidete, verschleierte Dame herein, die nicht mehr ganz jung zu sein schien. Ihr wurden Arme und Beine gebunden, wobei sie sich weder sträubte noch beklagte, und auf ein Zeichen enthauptete der Scharfrichter sie mit einem Hieb seines Schwertes. Gleich danach wurde er reichlich belohnt, nach Kehl zurückbegleitet und am Ende der Brücke, die nach Straßburg führt, abgesetzt.

Wraxall berichtet weiter, daß während seines Aufenthalts in Deutschland viele verschiedene Meinungen über die Identität der Dame vorgebracht wurden, die so ihren Tod gefunden haben sollte. Die meisten glaubten, daß sie Augusta Elisabeth, Prinzessin von Turn und Taxis und Tochter von Karl Alexander, dem Prinzen von Württemberg gewesen sei. Ob wegen Unvereinbarkeit der Charaktere der Ehepartner, ob wegen der unlenksamen und heftigen Art der Prinzessin, hätte sich ihre Ehe mit Karl Anselm, Prinz von Turn und Taxis, als äußerst unglücklich erwiesen. Sie sollte ihrem Gemahl wiederholt nach dem Leben getrachtet haben, vor allem während eines gemeinsamen Spaziergangs an der Donau in der Nähe des Schlosses Donau-Stauff, wo sie versucht hätte, ihn in den Strom zu stürzen. Laut Wraxall soll sie von ihrem Bruder, dem regierenden Herzog von Württemberg, eingekerkert worden sein, nachdem sie 1773 oder 1774 von ihrem Mann getrennt wurde. Viel problematischer sei die Frage, ob sie die Person war, die von dem Straßburger Scharfrichter hingerichtet wurde. Wraxall behauptet, im Herbst des Jahres 1778 mit dem Prinzen von Turn und Taxis im Schloß Donau-Stauff gespeist zu haben. Laut Berichten habe sich die Gattin des damals etwa Fünfundvierzigjährigen zu

dieser Zeit in Gewahrsam befunden, aber ihr Tod sei erst
4
viele Jahre später angezeigt worden.

Bei diesem Bericht geht es Wraxall darum, die Glaubwürdigkeit einer anderen Geschichte zu stützen, die er in Portici von Lady Hamilton gehört haben will und in ihren Worten wiederzugeben versucht. Er beginnt mit der Bemerkung, daß die geringe Entfernung zwischen den nördlichen Provinzen des Königreichs Neapel und den päpstlichen Gebieten es den Missetätern des einen Staates ermöglicht habe, in den anderen zu fliehen und sich so vor dem Gesetz zu retten. Er fährt dann fort:

Um das Jahr 1743 herum wurde ein irischer Chirurg namens Ogilvie, der unweit der Piazza di Spagna in Rom wohnte, von zwei maskierten Männern aus dem Bett gerufen, die in einer Kutsche vor seiner Tür vorgefahren waren. Sie baten ihn, sofort mitzufahren und seine Lanzetten mitzunehmen. Sobald die Kutsche die Straße verlassen hatte, wo er wohnte, verlangten sie, er solle sich die Augen zubinden lassen, da die Person, die er zu behandeln habe, eine Dame hohen Ranges sei, deren Identität geheimgehalten werden müsse. Als sie auf Umwegen ihr Ziel erreicht hatten, wurde er in ein Haus begleitet, wo er nach Besteigen einer engen Treppe in ein Gemach geführt wurde. Man nahm ihm dann die Binde ab und teilte ihm mit, daß er einer Dame, die ihre Familie entehrt habe und sich ohne weiteres in ihr Schicksal ergeben würde, die Adern zu öffnen habe und daß man ihn danach reichlich belohnen würde. Ogilvie sträubte sich zuerst. Erst, als man ihm versicherte, daß ein solches Verhalten nicht nur seinen eigenen, sondern auch den Tod der Dame zur Folge haben würde, gab er den Forderungen seiner Entführer nach. Dann wurde er in das nächste Zimmer geführt, wo er sein Opfer fand, eine Dame von interessantem und jugendlichem Äußerem. Nachdem sie ihre Beine in einen großen Kübel warmen Wassers getaucht hatte, versicherte sie dem Chirurgen, daß sie sich mit ihrem Tode abgefunden habe, denn nur so könne sie ihre Schuld sühnen, und nach kurzem Zögern öffnete er ihr die Adern. Man bot ihm dann einen Beutel Zechinen an, die er aber ablehnte, und die Augen wurden ihm wieder verbunden. Während er die enge Treppe hinuntergeführt wurde, gelang es ihm, die Wände mit seinen noch blutbefleckten Fingern zu zeichnen. Als er wieder vor seiner Tür abgesetzt wurde, warnte man ihn davor, das, was er erlebt hatte, zu verraten. Am nächsten Morgen erstattete er trotzdem dem Sekretär der Apostolischen Kammer einen ausführlichen Bericht. Als Benedikt XIV davon Kenntnis erhielt, stellte er Ogilvie eine Truppe der Sbirren zur Verfügung, die ihm bei der Suche nach dem

Tatort helfen sollten. Schließlich fand er die Blutflecken, die er hinterlassen hatte, in der Villa Papa Julio vor der Stadt. Hier erkannte er auch das Zimmer, wo er seinen unfreiwilligen Dienst verrichtet hatte. Es stellte sich heraus, daß es der Besitzer der Villa, der Herzog de Bracciano, und dessen Bruder gewesen waren, die den Tod ihrer eigenen Schwester dort verordnet hatten. Sobald diese erfuhren, daß ihr Verbrechen aufgedeckt worden war, flohen sie nach Neapel, wo sie nach Entrichtung eines beträchtlichen Bußgeldes an die Apostolische Kammer begnadigt wurden. Außerdem mußten sie über dem Kaminsims des Zimmers, wo die Tat verübt worden war, eine kupferne Tafel befestigen lassen, deren Aufschrift von ihrem Verbrechen und ihrer Bußfertigkeit berichtete. Bis vor kurzem habe man die Tafel noch sehen können.[5]

Während von diesen beiden hier gekürzt wiedergegebenen Berichten Wraxalls der erste oben angeführte offensichtlich mit Baaders und zumal mit Hebels Geschichte verwandt ist, könnte man in Frage stellen, ob der zweite, sich in Italien abspielende zu demselben Sagenkreis gehört. Fest steht, daß Wraxall für seinen Teil eine solche Verwandtschaft nicht zu vermuten scheint, da er den einen lediglich erstattet, um den anderen glaubwürdiger erscheinen zu lassen. Wie dem auch sein mag, es läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß der hier als zweiter angeführte Bericht Wraxalls viele Züge nicht nur mit dem ersten, sondern auch mit Baaders und Hebels Geschichte gemeinsam hat. So, um nur ein paar der hervorstechendsten Merkmale zu erwähnen, werden dem mit der Hinrichtung Beauftragten (in diesem Fall dem Chirurgen Ogilvie) die Augen erst nach der ersten Etappe der Reise verbunden (vgl. Wraxall 1, Hebel), er vollstreckt das Urteil erst, als ihm selber der Tod angedroht worden ist (vgl. Hebel), die Treppe erweist sich als Mittel, den Tatort zu entdecken (vgl. Baader), das Opfer des Verbrechens wird genannt (vgl. Baaders 'Hoffräulein'), und eine Gedenktafel wird über dem Kaminsims angebracht (vgl. Baaders 'Kreuz von Erz').

Es fällt hier ins Gewicht, daß der schottische Altertumsforscher Robert Chambers (1802 - 71), der die Irrwege mündlicher Überlieferung sicherlich besser kannte als Wraxall, nicht zögerte, einen Zusammenhang zwischen Wraxalls Berichten und einer Sage zu sehen, die Littlecote House, einem Herrenhaus in der südenglischen Grafschaft Wiltshire, damals schon seit mehr als zwei Jahrhunderten anhaftete.[6] Die früheste Chambers bekannte Fassung der Geschichte findet sich unter den Schriften des in Wiltshire geborenen Altertumskundlers John Aubrey (1626 - 97) und bezieht sich auf William Dayrell oder Darell (1539 - 89), den ehemaligen Besitzer Littlecotes, aber eine frühere Variante, die schon zu Lebzeiten Darells schriftlich festgehalten wurde, erwähnt weder ihn noch Littlecote House.

Bei dieser Variante handelt es sich um die 1578 verfaßte Niederschrift einer eidlichen Aussage, die Mother Barnes, eine Hebamme aus Great Shefford, einem sechs Meilen östlich von Littlecote gelegenen Dorf in der Grafschaft Berkshire, vor einem Friedensrichter und Freund Darells namens Anthony Bridges gemacht hatte. Bridges' Niederschrift, die um 1860 unter einigen Akten aus Darells früherem Besitz entdeckt wurde, läßt sich in knappen Zügen so umreißen:

Eines Abends spät sprachen zwei Bediente bei Mutter Barnes vor, angeblich im Auftrag einer Mrs Knevett, die die Hilfe einer Hebamme dringend benötige. Mutter Barnes ritt fast die ganze Nacht mit, in östlicher Richtung, wie es ihr schien, und über eine sehr lange Brücke, die, wie sie annahm, die Themse überspannte. Gegen Tag kamen die Berittenen vor einem Hause an, wo die Hebamme von einem Herrn empfangen, eine Treppe hinaufbegleitet, durch zwei Gemächer mit großen Kaminfeuern und in ein drittes geführt wurde, wo ein reiches mit Gardinen umhangenes Bett stand. Mit der Versicherung, daß der Erfolg mit einer guten Besoldung, ein Mißlingen aber mit dem Tod entgolten werde, beauftragte der Herr die Hebamme damit, eine Dame zu entbinden, die dort in den Wehen lag. Die Dame, deren Gesicht verhüllt war, gebar binnen kurzem einen Knaben, der aus Mangel an Kleidern in die

Schürze der Hebamme gewickelt werden mußte. Auf der Suche nach einem geeigneteren Gewand ging diese in eines der anderen Gemächer, wo sie dem Herrn begegnete, der ihr befahl, das Kind auf das Feuer zu werfen. Trotz ihrer inständigen Bitten, das Kind annehmen und als ihr eigenes erziehen zu dürfen, wurde es den Flammen anheimgegeben. Die Hebamme blieb den ganzen Tag bei der Dame, und in der darauffolgenden Nacht wurde sie bis kurz vor ihr eigenes Haus zurückbegleitet.[7]

Hier fällt nicht nur auf, daß weder Täter noch Tatort genannt werden, sondern auch, daß die Hebamme nach vielstündiger Reise in anscheinend östlicher Richtung ihr Reiseziel nicht erkannte, wo doch das nur sechs Meilen westlich ihres Wohnorts gelegene Littlecote, auch wenn sie es auf Umwegen erreicht hätte, ihr sicherlich bekannt vorgekommen wäre.[8]

Das Thema taucht als nächstes, wie oben erwähnt, bei John Aubrey auf, etwa hundert Jahre nach dem Tode Darells. In Aubreys Fassung der Geschichte ist Darell nun zum Mörder, der Tatort zu Littlecote House, und die unglückselige Dame zu der Kammerzofe von Darells Frau geworden, trotzdem dieser in Wirklichkeit nie heiratete:

"Sir . . . Dayrell, von Littlecote in der Grafschaft Wiltshire, schwängerte die Kammerzofe seiner Frau, und als die Zeit ihrer Niederkunft da war, schickte er einen Bedienten mit einem Pferd nach einer Hebamme, die mit verbundenen Augen kommen sollte. Sie kam auch und entband die Frau, aber sobald das Kind geboren war, sah die Hebamme, wie der Ritter das Kind nahm und es im Feuer in der Kammer verbrannte. Da sie ihren Dienst verrichtet hatte, wurde sie für ihre Mühe außerordentlich belohnt und mit verbundenen Augen weggeschickt. Diese schreckliche Tat beschäftigte sie sehr, und in ihr regte sich der Wunsch, den Tatort zu entdecken, aber sie wußte nicht, wo er war. Sie sann über die Zeit nach, die sie wohl ritt und wieviele Meilen sie mit dieser Geschwindigkeit in dieser Zeit geritten sein mochte, und sie kam zu dem Schluß, daß es das Haus eines großen Herrn sein mußte, denn das Zimmer war 12 Fuß hoch; und daß sie das Zimmer erkennen würde, wenn sie es sähe. Sie ging zu einem Friedensrichter, man begab sich auf die Suche, und dasselbige Zimmer wurde gefunden. Der Ritter kam vor Gericht, und kurzum bekam der nämliche Richter dieses edle Haus, den Park und das Schloß und, wie ich glaube, noch mehr als Bestechung, auf daß er ihm das Leben rette."[9]

Der Richter, auf den sich Aubrey bezieht, war Sir John Popham, der tatsächlich als Darells Nachfolger in den Besitz von Littlecote gelangte. Er wurde aber erst 1592, drei Jahre nach Darells Tod, zum Richter ernannt, kann also kaum über diesen zu Gericht gesessen haben. Übrigens war Darell auch kein Ritter ('knight'), trotzdem ihn Aubrey so betitelt.[10]

Außerdem sind bei Aubrey nunmehr andere Züge hinzugekommen, die uns zum Teil aus der späteren Überlieferung schon bekannt sind. So werden der Hebamme die Augen verbunden, der Schauplatz des Verbrechens wird kraft ihrer Beobachtungen entdeckt, und dem Mörder wird die Strafe erlassen, weil er den Richter mit Haus und Hof bestochen hat.

So geprägt lebte die Geschichte in der mündlichen Überlieferung Südenglands weiter, denn am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts notierte Lord Webb Seymour eine Variante, die im wesentlichen mit der Aubreys übereinstimmt. Nur hat sich bei ersterem die List geändert, zu der die Hebamme greift, um das Schloß zu entdecken: sie schneidet ein Stück aus dem Vorhang des Kindbetts und näht es wieder ein, und sie zählt die Stufen der Treppe, auf der sie das Schloß verläßt. Dazu kommt noch, daß Darell wenige Monate nach der Tat sich das Genick bricht, als er auf die Jagd reitet und einen Zaunübertritt überspringen will.

Lord Webb Seymour teilte seine Variante der Geschichte Sir Walter Scott mit. Dieser kannte eine verwandte Sage, die sich in Edinburg abspielte, und er verquickte beide Überlieferungen in einer 'Ballade' seines Gedichts Rokeby, das 1813 erschien. Sowohl die englische Variante Seymours als auch die Scott seit seiner Kindheit vertraute schottische

wird von diesem in seinen Anmerkungen zu Rokeby zitiert.[11] Letztere lautet in etwa so:

Gegen Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts wurde ein Geistlicher einmal um Mitternacht aufgefordert, mit jemandem zu beten, der kurz vor dem Tod stehe. Er wurde in einer Sänfte zu einem entfernten Stadtteil gebracht, wo seine Träger, deren Sprache und Kleidung eher Mitglieder der höheren Stände vermuten ließen, ihm mit Pistolen drohten und darauf bestanden, daß er sich die Augen verbinden lassen sollte. Dann wurde er zu einem Haus getragen, wo er nach Besteigen einer Treppe von seiner Augenbinde befreit und in eine Schlafkammer geführt wurde. Hier sah er vor sich eine Dame mit ihrem neugeborenen Kind. Obwohl Mutter und Kind gesund zu sein schienen, mußte er Gebete sprechen, wie sie sonst nur an einem Sterbebett üblich sind. Während er danach die Treppe schleunigst hinuntergeführt wurde, hörte er einen Pistolenschuß. Als er vor seinem eigenen Hause abgesetzt wurde, wurde ihm ein Geldbeutel mit Gold aufgedrängt, wobei er gemahnt wurde, daß ihn jede Anspielung auf das Geschehnis das Leben kosten würde. Kurz danach erfuhr er, daß ein gewisses Haus am oberen Ende des Canongate in Brand geraten und die Tochter des Hauses dabei gestorben war. Erst viel später erwähnte er die Sache seinen Ordensbrüdern gegenüber. Nach seinem Tode brannte es noch einmal an derselben Stelle, wobei mitten in der Feuersbrunst, Unheil verkündend, der Geist der Dame erschien.

Kehren wir zur englischen Überlieferung zurück, so finden wir in einer 1799 erschienenen Anekdoten- und Biographiensammlung des Journalisten L. T. Rede eine Variante der Geschichte, die in manchen Punkten von derjenigen abweicht, die Lord Webb Seymour - wohl um dieselbe Zeit übrigens - dem schottischen Dichter Scott mitteilte. In der von Rede veröffentlichten Fassung werden weder Akteure noch Schauplatz namhaft gemacht, da aber die Handlung "in einer an London grenzenden Grafschaft" abläuft und angeblich noch in das achtzehnte Jahrhundert gehört, kommt weder Littlecote als Tatort noch Darell als Täter in Frage. Die Rolle, die in anderen englischen Varianten von letzterem gespielt wird, fehlt bei Rede sogar: der Bote, der die Hebamme abgeholt hat, ist auch derjenige, der sie nach ihrer Ankunft im Herrenhaus genau über ihre Aufgabe

unterrichtet, und die unbekannten, oder zumindest ungenannten Personen, die das Komplott geschmiedet haben, sind nun auf "fünf oder sechs" angewachsen. Weiter fällt bei Rede z.B. auf, daß die Hebamme auch während der Entbindung ihre Augenbinde anbehalten muß und den Stoff-fetzen, den sie von der Gardine abschneidet, nicht wieder einnäht. Ein wesentlicherer Unterschied aber, der Redes Variante von den anderen englischen absondert, besteht darin, daß die Hebamme den Mord nicht mitansieht und ihn lediglich vermutet, weil sie z.B., während sie das Schloß verläßt, durch ihre Augenbinde ein Licht wahrnimmt und Gebranntes riecht. Bald danach im Text wird auch das Verschwinden einer Nichte des Hauses erwähnt.[12]

Diese Züge erinnern stark an die Scott aus seiner eigenen Kindheit bekannten Variante, die oben nacherzählt wurde. Auch hier wird die herbeigerufene Person, in diesem Fall ein Geistlicher, schon vor der Mordtat weggeführt, auch hier brennt es in der Folge, wonach das Verschwinden einer jungen Frau, vermutlich der Mutter, kundgetan wird. Natürlich werden diese Elemente in der schottischen Überlieferung anders gehandhabt: vor allem wird das Motiv des Feuers auf raffinierte Weise umfunktioniert, so daß alle Spuren des Verbrechens durch einen Brand verwischt werden und der Tod der jungen Frau nun wie die Folge einer Naturkatastrophe aussieht. Trotzdem ist die Ähnlichkeit zwischen den beiden Varianten so frappierend, daß sie als nahe miteinander verwandt betrachtet werden müssen: wohl entstammt die schottische, von Scott aufgezeichnete Geschichte einer Vorform von Redes Anekdote, die somit als Brücke zwischen der englischen und der schottischen

Überlieferung zu sehen ist.

Trotz der Mannigfaltigkeit oben besprochener Varianten können, wie schon zum Teil gezeigt, gewisse Tendenzen und Zusammenhänge erkannt werden: Motive verschwinden und tauchen erst nach Generationen wieder auf, dieselben Elemente ordnen sich kaleidoskopartig zu neuen, unerwarteten Mustern. So ist das Motiv des Flammentodes allen britischen Spielarten gemeinsam, und nur in diesen hat die herbeigerufene Person (Hebamme, Geistlicher) die Aufgabe, Leben oder Trost zu spenden. Allerdings wird bei Bridges die Hebamme aufgefordert, das Kind, bei dessen Geburt sie eben geholfen hat, zu töten, ein Motiv, das in abgeänderter Form in den festländischen Varianten überhandnimmt, denn hier hat der Herbeigerufene (Arzt, Scharfrichter) nur noch die Aufgabe, Leben zu nehmen.

Hat man einmal erkannt, wo die Varianten auseinandergehen, kann man das Grundschema der Geschichte etwa wie folgt rekonstruieren, wobei zu merken ist, daß die Erwähnung eines Motivs keineswegs bedeutet, daß es ursprünglich ist oder in allen Spielarten vorkommt:

Ein Mensch, dessen Tüchtigkeit in seinem Tätigkeitsbereich allgemein bekannt ist (Hebamme, Geistlicher, Arzt, Scharfrichter), wird nachts herbeigerufen und mit verbundenen Augen auf Umwegen zu einem ihm unbekannten Ziel gebracht, wo er einer oder mehreren illegal zu Tode verurteilten Personen (Frau, Kind, beiden) gegenüber seines Amtes zu walten hat (vgl. Thompson K 955 Murder by burning). Er wird wieder nach Hause geleitet und reichlich belohnt, wobei ihm jede Anspielung auf das Geschehene verboten wird. Er greift zur List (Schätzung der Entfernung, der Zimmerhöhe; Ausschneiden eines Stoff-fetzens aus einem Vorhang (vgl. Thompson H 117 Identification by cut garment); Zählen der Treppenstufen; Hinterlassen von Blutspuren), um Tatort, Opfer und Täter zu ermitteln. Letztere werden vor Gericht gestellt, aber wegen Beziehungen oder mangelnden bzw. widersprüchlichen Beweismaterials freigesprochen. Wo der Richter nicht bestochen worden ist, werden Bußgelder verlangt,

oder eine symbolische Strafe (Anbringen einer beschrifteten Tafel oder eines Kreuzes) wird verhängt. Unheil bleibt aber nicht aus: das Opfer erscheint als Gespenst, der Missetäter stirbt unerwartet, sein Stamm gedeiht nicht, usw.

Aus obiger Zusammenfassung geht hervor, daß wenige Elemente dieser weitverzweigten Überlieferung in dem Motivverzeichnis von Stith Thompson[13] erfaßt wurden. Eine weitere Ergründung der Zusammenhänge könnte aber nicht nur für die vergleichende Erzählforschung aufschlußreich sein, sie könnte auch ein wenig zur Beleuchtung der Frage beitragen, wie Hebel zu seinen Quellen stand. Wir können natürlich bei der "Heimlichen Enthauptung" genauso wenig wie bei vielen anderen Hebelschen Erzählungen wissen, wie das unmittelbare Quellenmaterial aussah, aber sorgfältige Vergleiche mit den vorliegenden Varianten können zu mehr oder weniger berechtigten Annahmen führen. So ist es vielleicht von Bedeutung, daß im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen Varianten Hebel von jeglicher Spekulation über Tatort, Täter oder Opfer absieht und sich auch weigert, Gespenstergeschichten feilzubieten. Dadurch gelingt es ihm, alles Nebensächliche zu vermeiden, den Schwerpunkt auf ethische Probleme zu verlagern und den Leser ahnungsvoll mit den Fragen der Gesetzmäßigkeit, der Gewalt und der Verantwortung zu konfrontieren.[14]

J. B. Smith

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1. Bernhard Baader, Volkssagen aus dem Lande Baden und den angrenzenden Gegenden (Karlsruhe, 1851) (Neudruck Hildesheim, 1973), S. 304, Nr. 332.

2. Historische Sagen, hrsg. von Leander Petzoldt, 2 Bde. (München, 1976 - 77), 2, 331.

3. Johann Peter Hebel, Schatzkästlein des rheinischen Hausfreundes (Tübingen, 1811), hrsg. von Winfried Theiß (Stuttgart, 1981), S. 220 - 223.

4. Sir N(athaniel) William Wraxall, Historical Memoirs of my own Time, 2 Bde. (London, 1815), 1, 261 - 266.

5. Ebd., S. 255 - 261.

6. Robert Chambers, The Book of Days, 2 Bde. (London & Edinburgh, 1866 - 68), 2, 554 - 556.

7. C(harles) E(dward) Long, "Wild Darell of Littlecote", in The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 6 (1860), 390 - 396.

8. Andere Momente, die Argumente für eine Beziehung zwischen der Aussage und Darell oder Littlecote kaum haltbar erscheinen lassen, werden von Long aufgeführt, ebd.

9. Aubrey's Brief Lives, hrsg. von Oliver Lawson Dick (1949) (Harmondsworth, 1978), S. 407 - 408 (meine Übersetzung).

10. Siehe Charles Edward Long, "Wild Darell of Littlecote", in The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 4 (1858), 209 - 232; Dictionary of National

Biography, hrsg. von Sidney Lee (London, 1896), 46, 148.

11. The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, hrsg. von J. Logie Robertson (London, 1904), S. 407 - 408. Der Kern von Seymours Variante scheint, von zahlreichen daraus hervorgegangenen Sagen und Aberglauben umrankt, in der mündlichen Überlieferung Wiltshires fortzubestehen: siehe J. Cuthbert Welch, "Durrell and Popham of Littlecote", Notes and Queries, 7th series, XI (6. 6. 1891), S. 449; Kathleen Wiltshire, Ghosts and Legends of the Wiltshire Countryside (Salisbury, 1974), S. 96 - 98 und Wiltshire Folklore (Salisbury, 1975), S. 99 - 100.

12. L(eman) T(homas) Rede, Anecdotes and Biography, 2. Aufl. (London, 1799), S. 240 - 248. Die erste Auflage des Werks erschien auch 1799. Interessanterweise wird diese Fassung der Geschichte von dem Stammbaumforscher John Burke bearbeitet und mit Darell und Littlecote in Verbindung gebracht: siehe John Burke, A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, 4 Bde. (London, 1835 - 38), 2, xii - xiii.

13. Stith Thompson, Motif Index of Folk-Literature, 6 Bde. (Bloomington & London, 1955).

14. Literatur zur "Heimlichen Enthauptung": Erik Wolf, "Vom Wesen des Rechts in der Dichtung Johann Peter Hebels", in Berichte der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft zu Freiburg i. Br., 37 (1942), S. 172 - 179; Georg Hirtsiefer, Ordnung und Recht in der Dichtung Johann Peter Hebels (Bonn, 1968), S. 81 - 84; Erik Wolf, Vom Wesen des Rechts in deutscher Dichtung (Frankfurt a. M., 1946), S. 207 - 216.

Paying the Piper

'It by no means follows that one needs to regard music as the work of the devil. . . . However, it is noticeable enough that in legends, hence in the popular consciousness which finds its expression in legends, the musical is again the daemonic.'
Kierkegaard, Either - Or

In 1984 the town of Hamelin, rather paradoxically it might be thought, will celebrate the seven-hundredth anniversary of a tragic event which, though it has achieved such notoriety, is nowhere mentioned in any known document of the time. Even Johan von Pohle's Chronik der Kirche zu Hameln, which dates back to 1384, the hundredth anniversary of that event, does not refer to the exodus Hamelensis,[1] which is first recorded in an account added by a later hand to the final page of an abridged version of Heinrich von Herford's Catena aurea. The entry, which was probably made between 1430 and 1450, but refers to an earlier written source, was discovered in 1936 by H. Spanuth. The gist is as follows:

On the day of SS. John and Paul (26th June), 1284, there appeared in Hamelin a handsome and well-dressed young man of about thirty, who started to play on a silver flute as he walked through the town, whereupon all the children who heard him, about 130 altogether, followed him out of the Ostertor to the place of Calvary or execution. Here they disappeared, and could never afterwards be found. And whereas elsewhere the calendar starts with the birth of Christ, in Hamelin the years came to be counted starting from the exodus. I found this in an old book. And the mother of Dean Johan von Lüde saw the children depart.[2]

Among the thirty or so references to the legend which occur from then on up to the end of the sixteenth century,

it is that contained in the Zimmerische Chronik (1557) which first brings in the motif of the rat-catcher who, cheated of his reward for ridding the town of vermin, avenges himself by leading the children away.[3] This or similar versions of the tale, which explain the abduction of the children as an act of revenge, and generally have them disappear in a hill known as 'der Koppen' (= NHG 'Kopf'), gained currency and found their way into English works such as A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence by Richard Verstegan (1605), Familiar Letters by James Howell (1643), and Wonders of the Little World by Nathaniel Wanley (1678).[4] On one or more of these Browning is said to have based his "Pied Piper of Hamelin" (1842),[5] which made the figure of the rat-catcher probably as well known to English as it must be to German readers. At this point one is tempted to ask whether the story of the Pied Piper is purely literary, an exotic imported into Britain from across the North Sea, or whether English popular tradition can offer indigenous or naturalized congeners, at least for some of the motifs involved.

Among Browning's sources may also have been Abraham Elder's story "The Pied Piper" (1839), which has Newtown, formerly known as Franchville, in the Isle of Wight as its setting. Elder makes the rats sink in the ooze left by the receding tide rather than drown in the waves, which would presumably have posed no threat to such good swimmers, and he has the Pied Piper lead the children into the greenwood rather than into a hill. Otherwise, however, Elder appears

to follow the story as related by Verstegan, evn down to the name of Pied Piper, and apparently no local sources for the 'legend' have been discovered.[6]

Even so, magic pipes and pipers are by no means unknown to English tradition. Take for instance the old metrical tale of "The Frere and the Boye", which was popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and is said by the Opies to be "the nearest British approach to the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin". In it a boy who is ill-treated by his stepmother is given a magic pipe, the sound of which causes those who hear it, notably a friar engaged by his mother to castigate him, to dance to exhaustion.[7] A version of the tale continued to exist in chapbook form, and as the still popular nursery rhyme "Tom, he was a piper's son" (not to be confused with his namesake who stole a pig):

> "Tom with his pipe did play with such skill
> That those who heard him could never keep still;
> As soon as he played they began for to dance,
> Even pigs on their hind legs would after him prance."[8]

Another story which reminds one of the Pied Piper, not least in that the idea of exercising power over animals by means of music is linked with that of influencing people in the same way, can be found in a little-known work of 1799. This is L. T. Rede's Anecdotes and Biography. Because of the rarity of this book and the relevance of the story to the traditions under discussion, I shall quote in full:

POPULAR SAYINGS

There are few inquiries more entertaining to curiosity than into the origin of popular sayings, it being certain that they invariably take their rise from some circumstance of much importance or uncommon whimsicality. Dr. Brown, in his treatise on Vulgar Errors, has developed many of the mysteries couched under these apothegms, and cleared them of the errors to which they were made to give the sanction of prescription. But the heap was too great to be sorted by one hand, though the little he accomplished, and especially his leading the way, was of greater service to truth than may generally be supposed.

There is a common saying, when a person would describe one apt to break his word, that "he would sham mad and dance naked to avoid paying the piper."

I had often heard this, without considering it as any more than one of those jumbles of odd ideas, the meaning of which, if any they have, is not worth the trouble of searching for; but, in an excursion into Yorkshire, I found reason to change my opinion.

The story goes, that, in former times, a certain part of this country near the sea was so infested by rats, as a judgment from heaven for not rebuilding a monastery which had been burnt down by accident, that the Baron, who was lord of the soil, to prevent his vassals from leaving it, made a proclamation, that he would grant any man who should rid him of those vermin any reward he should require. As much might be gained and nothing hazarded, so so many made the attempt in vain, that, to prevent farther trouble of the kind, he issued another proclamation, that, as the reward of success would necessarily be great, the penalty on miscarriage should be no less than death.

This had, in one respect, the effect intended. The Baron was no longer plagued with pretenders, though on the other hand the evil gained ground every day. The vermin multiplied so fast, that the Baron himself began to entertain thoughts of leaving a place visited with so dreadful a scourge; when a stranger, of mean appearance, offered himself to the adventure. The confidence with which he spoke encouraged hope of his succeeding; however, as the event was to be of no great consequence to one party or the other, he demanded, that the Baron should solemnly repeat the conditions, in presence of all his people; which was no sooner done in form, than the stranger desired to meet them all in the same place on the day following, to see the conditions fulfilled, either by his receiving the reward he should claim, or paying with his life the penalty of his failure.

The curiosity of the country, as may be supposed, was raised very high, to know what preparation the stranger would make for a trial of his skill, on which his life depended. But their surprise was equal to see him walk about the whole day, playing for his amusement on a shepherd's pipe. His persisting in this appeared so absurd, that, after the third day, they took no farther notice of him, of which

he took advantage to disappear unperceived that night, nor did they see any more of him the next day, from which they concluded he had ran away; but they found the contrary the sixth morning, when he returned, and, going to the Baron's castle, gave notice that he had performed what he had undertaken, and should demand his recompense the next day, declaring, that, if in the mean time, a single rat could be found within the bounds of the Baron's lands, he would not only give up his pretensions, but also submit to suffer the penalty.

The search, it may be presumed, was made with the utmost care, and, proving in his favour, the Baron summoned all his vassalage to meet in the great court of the Castle, and bear witness to his honourable performance of his promise.

Among those assembled on the occasion was the Baron's only daughter, a young lady undoubtedly of exquisite beauty, and heiress to all her father's boundless possessions. As soon as the Court was duly marshalled, the Seneschal read aloud the conditions entered into between the Baron and the stranger, and acknowledging that the latter had performed his part of them, required him to name the reward he expected; when, to the indignant astonishment of all present, he demanded the Baron's daughter in marriage; nor could any offers, expostulations, or threats, prevail upon him to change his demand.

The distress of both father and daughter was beyond expression; but what could be done? He had pledged the faith of a true Knight, an oath as inviolable as that of the Gods by Styx. They were relieved, however, by a young Knight, who happened to be present, and boldly claimed a prior engagement with the lady, which took her out of the power of her father, and consequently prevented her being included in his promise. This diffused joy over the whole assembly, the lady not denying, nor the father disapproving, the engagement.

As soon as the tumult of their exultation subsided, the Baron told the stranger, that, having promised only the individual reward which he should claim, his claiming one not in his power to grant had discharged the promise; as, by the arrogance of the claim he had made, he had justly forfeited his life; but that, as he himself always tempered justice with mercy, he would give him that life as a reward for his service. The stranger, far from expressing any sense of this favour, pulled out his pipe, and began to play with an air of the most easy indifference. This was matter of new surprise, which was not a little increased when they saw the Baron, the moment he heard him, start up from his chair of state, and, leaping into the middle of the court, fall to dancing as if he were mad, in which his example was instantly followed by his daughter, her new claimant, and every person present, who soon grew so hot from the violence of the exercise, as well as the warmth of the weather, it being the midst of summer, that they stripped off all their clothes, and continued to dance naked, without shewing the least sense of their situation, till, being quite wearied

out, they dropped down one after another, and fell fast asleep, in which state they laid till the next morning. In the mean while the piper disappeared, nor was ever seen there again, any more than the rats, which it was discovered had followed the sound of his pipe into the sea, where they were all drowned. And hence arose the saying of "shamming mad and dancing naked to avoid paying the piper."

As for the young lady, she was so much ashamed of her frolic, that she shut herself up for life in a convent, while her father and lover went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where they ended their lives as wisely. 9

Rede's basic assumption here is that proverbial sayings can be relics of stories that have fallen into oblivion, and one has only to think of, say, dog in the manger or sour grapes, which are doubtless more current than the fables from which they have sprung, to realize that he is in principle correct.[10] However, it seems unlikely that in this particular instance there is any link between tale and saying. Indeed, "He would sham mad and dance naked to avoid paying the piper" itself sounds rather improbable, until, that is, we resolve it into its parts. To sham mad is, even if not proverbial, a plausible enough expression, since to sham frequently occurs with an adjectival complement, and the brevity and assonance of the collocation give it a certain cohesiveness. As for to dance naked, a more complete form of this is to dance naked in a net or nets, a saying of which the first instances are found in the early sixteenth century. Compare Tyndale's "In case like unto them which, when they dance naked in nets, believe they are invisible" (1528), and, later, Howell's "You dance in a nett, and you think no body sees you" (1659). The sense is thus 'to act without concealment, while expecting to escape notice'.[11] Finally, to pay the piper is still current in the sense of 'to bear the cost', and is itself

a reduced form of the proverb He who pays the piper calls the tune, although the saying often has a certain ruefulness about it which is more reminiscent of They that dance must pay the fiddler. Both these proverbs are of venerable age, but neither has anything to do with the Pied Piper or his kin.[12]

Having investigated Rede's popular saying and cast doubt on any link with the story it is said to represent, we now need to subject this to the same sort of scrutiny. It differs so much from Verstegan's version of the Pied Piper legend, and those of his successors, that it can scarcely derive directly from any of these, and one suspects a local legend lurking beneath Rede's rather mannered rendering. As Briggs says, the Motif Index is very weak on rats, but a glance at, say, the section headed "Tierbeschwörer" in Petzoldt's Deutsche Volkssagen will show that the belief in the ability of certain individuals to charm these as well as other animals was by no means restricted to Hamelin, and that the tale of such a person being cheated of his just reward was also quite common.[13] That being so, it would be surprising if these motifs were not to be found in the British Isles. Briggs reminds us that Rosalind in As You Like It talks of rats being berhymed, and suggests further that some tradition of rat-charming lingered in Franchville, later to be amplified by Abraham Elder in the Isle of Wight story mentioned above.[14] More concrete evidence that rat-charming was actually practised in Britain is provided by the presence in Hamelin Rattenfängermuseum of a pipe formerly used by a Northamptonshire rat-catcher for luring

his prey.[15]

As for the idea of the piper avenging himself on those who had cozened him by making them dance wildly to the music of his pipe, rather than by leading their children away as in the Hamelin legend, a parallel may be seen in the ballad of "The Frere and the Boye", summarized above. Further, one is reminded of the idea, quite common in British tradition, that a witch or wizard would punish victims by making them dance, whether by the use of a pipe or otherwise. Thus Jenkyns, a wise man of Trelleck, was said to have put a spell on four people who had stolen some cider, "so that they danced for two whole hours on the village green till they were ready to drop, while hundreds of people looked on".[16]

In view of all this I would like to suggest that Rede's 'anecdote' is based on an authentic tradition, and that it can with some justification claim the place, allocated by the Opies to "The Frere and the Boye", as the nearest British approach to the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Even so, there is no denying that the two stories diverge considerably in their account of the rat-catcher's revenge. The punishment meted out by Rede's piper - a common enough motif, as I have tried to show - is hardly reminiscent, at first glance, of the <u>exodus Hamelensis</u>, the nucleus of the German legend. This is in fact without many analogues, and has long been a favourite subject for speculation. Broadly speaking, the more plausible attempts to explain the exodus fall into three categories. First, the Pied Piper may be seen as the

agent of some powerful personage recruiting colonists for territories in the east. Second, the abducted children may have been overtaken by some natural catastrophe - engulfed for instance by some treacherous swamp. Third, they could have been the victims of one of the epidemics of St. Vitus's dance or a similar disease common in the Middle Ages.[17]

This can hardly be the place for further speculation, or for assessing hypotheses already put forward, but it is perhaps worth pointing out that, in spite of their dissimilarity, the second parts of Rede's story and of the German legend share features which might conceivably be significant. Both take place at midsummer, both refer to dancing. The time about the feast of St. John was of course linked with saltatory activities,[18] and it may be that in these two accounts of the perils attendant on dancing we have what was in the first place an aetiological or monitory legend. Such a legend could have formed around memories of midsummer rites that had fallen into desuetude, or were disapproved of by the church. It is also perhaps worth a passing mention that although Rede's version does not culminate in any exodus, it does at the end refer to the retirement of the young lady into a convent, and the departure of her father and her lover for the Holy Land. Here too, then, the piper's immediate victims leave their native parts for good.

1. Richard Beitl, Wörterbuch der deutschen Volkskunde, third edition (Stuttgart, Alfred Kröner, 1974), p. 662.

2. Historische Sagen, edited by Leander Petzoldt (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1976 - 77), 2, pp. 66 and 286.

3. Beitl, p. 663.

4. Richard Verstegan, A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence (1605) (London, Scolar Press, 1976), pp. 85 - 87;
James Howell, Familiar Letters (1643), eleventh edition (London, R. Ware,), p. 287;
Nathaniel Wanley, The Wonders of the Little World (London, T. Basset, 1678), p. 598.

5. See Joseph Jacobs, More English Fairy Tales (London, David Nutt, 1894), p. 218. In fact Jacobs does not suggest the first of these as a source, even though Browning's "Twenty-second of July,/Thirteen hundred and Seventy-six" echoes Verstegan rather than Howell or Wanley. See "The Pied Piper of Hamelin", XIV. (The Poems and Plays of Robert Browning (Dent, London, 1906), 2, p. 42.)

6. Jacobs, pp. 218 - 20. Jacobs quotes as his source for Elder's story Abraham Elder, Tales and Legends of the Isle of Wight (London, 1839), pp. 157 - 64, but the version he gives on pp. 1 - 6 is "abridged and partly rewritten", with "a couple of touches from Browning".

7. "A Mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye" in Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, edited by W. Carew

Hazlitt (London, John Russell Smith, 1864 - 66), 3, pp. 54 - 81.

8. The Oxford Book of Nursery Rhymes, edited by Iona & Peter Opie (Oxford, O.U.P, 1977), pp. 408 - 11.

9. L. T. Rede, Anecdotes and Biography (1799), second edition (London, Crosby & Letterman, 1799), pp. 342 - 47. A copy is held by the British Library.

10. See Lutz Röhrich, Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten (Freiburg, Herder, 1977), 1, pp. 24 - 25, and references there.

11. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, compiled by W. G. Smith; third edition, revised by F. P. Wilson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 166. Stevenson quotes an instance of the saying in a passage ( ) by Robert Greene in which Venus is mentioned, and adds: "The reference is, of course, to the net which Vulcan cast over Venus and Mars when he caught them in bed together." (See Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases, selected and arranged by Burton Stevenson (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 481.) If Stevenson is correct, which seems unlikely, the saying must have arisen from a misinterpretation of pictures showing Mars and Venus caught in the toils of Vulcan, rather than from familiarity with the story itself.

12. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs, edited by J. A. Simpson (Oxford, O.U.P, 1982), p. 175.
On the other hand to pay the piper could have its origin

in, say, "Alwayes those that dance must pay the musicke", (1683), which sounds proverbial. See The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, p. 615.

13. Deutsche Volkssagen, edited by Leander Petzoldt, second edition (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1978), pp. 46 - 50.

14. Katharine. M. Briggs, A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970 - 71), B, 2, p. 308.

15. For this information I am indebted to Miss Janet Ford, whose work on the story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin while she was a third-year undergraduate at Bath University in 1981 - 82 encouraged me to write this paper.

16. Jacqueline Simpson, The Folklore of the Welsh Border (London, Batsford, 1976), pp. 61 - 62. For further examples of this motif see Ernest W. Baughman, Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America (The Hague, Mouton, 1966), D2174. Also relevant are D1415, D1427 and D1440.

17. Beitl, p. 664.

18. Compare for instance Beitl, p. 414, under 'Johannistag': "In kultischer Nacktheit gingen . . . Mädchen zum Flachsfeld, umtanzten es u. wälzten sich darin." The feast of SS. John and Paul (26th June), mentioned in the first recorded version of the story and frequently since, is of course not identical with Johannistag, the midsummer feast of St. John the Baptist, but no doubt festivities associated with the latter continued for more than a day or two.

The Changing Topography of Hardy's "Romantic Adventures"

Although Hardy originally planned to have Largery, the heroine of "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid", disappear with the mysterious Baron von Xanten in his yacht, never to be heard of in England again, in the magazine version of the story, which appeared in 1883, the author bowed to Victorian convention in making the milkmaid a reluctant fugitive, who tearfully prevailed upon her would-be abductor to let her return to her husband, Jim: "'Oh, sir!' she gasped, 'I once saved your life; save me now, for pity's sake.'" (p. 88)[1] In the story as it appeared in 1913, Margery still responds to the call of duty, but less willingly. And on hearing of the death of the Baron she confesses to Jim: "'If he had pressed me . . . I would have gone. And I was disappointed that he did not press me.'" (p. 487)[2] As for the Baron, his sentiments are no longer "doubtful" (p. 89), but "impassioned" (p. 486), and the Mephistophelian side of his nature is brought out a little more.

Along with changes in characterization and motivation demanded by these shifts of emphasis, the definitive version of 1913 is also marked by a change in location. Hardy transferred the scene from Dorset to the valley of the Exe in Devon, "probably to ensure that the world of the romantic milkmaid was not associated with that of the tragic dairymaid in Tess of the d'Urbervilles, an important part of which is set in the 'Froom' valley. This is identical with the 'Swenn' valley in which 'The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid'

was set originally".[3]

As I have tried to show elsewhere, in revising the original, Hardy removes some dialectal features which might be too reminiscent of Dorset, and adds others which are meant to reflect the speech of Devonshire, though this type of adjustment is not on a large scale.[4] The general tendency in the revised version is in fact for dialectal features to be toned down somewhat, possibly as a concession to readers unfamiliar with the vernacular. Paradoxically, however, the result is not a 'flattening' of the dialogue, since a more subtle deployment of linguistic features now throws differences of background and attitude more effectively into relief. This is evident in the exchanges between Margery and the Baron. Although in the revised version she is quite capable, when affected by emotion, of lapsing into dialect in converse with her equals, she quite plausibly tends to shed provincialisms when addressing von Xanten. Even so, the social distance between milkmaid and nobleman is maintained through his now often avoiding reduced forms such as I'll and there's in favour of the less colloquial I will and there is. At the same time the Baron's exotic background is hinted at through the addition of "My Gott" (p. 413), while "My dear girl, God bless you!" becomes "My good maiden, Gott bless you!" Such modifications, though they are not numerous, help to colour our attitudes, as does, say, the change from "the poet Chaucer" to "your poet Chaucer" (p. 15, cf. p. 419), or the alteration of Xanten's name to von Xanten throughout the 1913 edition.[5]

Just as, in shifting the scene to Devonshire, Hardy restricts himself to a minimum of changes reflecting regional dialect, so, in adapting the complex topography of the Swenn valley to that of the Exe, he makes only those alterations that logic and consistency demand, or that the reader familiar with the more conspicuous features of the region might expect. At the same time, just as the dialogue is made to reflect attitude, character and social background more clearly than before, topography can also on occasion be pressed into the service of characterization. However, before discussing the new, Devonshire, topography, we have to be clear about the network of places and natural features, real and imaginary, referred to in the original version of the story. Here I shall try to avoid the temptation of identifying places and features which are generally held to be unidentifiable.[6] Even so, I shall feel justified in following clues where Hardy gives them, and in comparing the landscape of the story with the 'real' landscape as we know it today.

In the original version Margery Tucker lives at Stickleford (Tincleton), and frequently visits her grandmother at Rook's Gate four miles to the east, on the way to what must be Anglebury (Wareham). This would place Rook's Gate somewhere in the vicinity of Clouds Hill (grid reference: SY 824 909). The nearby Mount Lodge, inhabited at the time by Baron Xanten, is "a building of the medium size, and unpretending, the façade being of stone; and of the Italian elevation made

familiar by Inigo Jones and his school". (Ch. 1) Both architectural style and location are reminiscent of Woolbridge Manor, just to the north of Wool. This is the 'Caroline' manor-house referred to in Tess[7] as Wellbridge Manor. Mount Lodge is between Stickleford and Lord Blakemore's "in the next county", which must be Hampshire or Wiltshire. In order to shorten the journey to the latter destination, where he and Margery are to attend the ball, Xanten chooses a rendezvous "two miles or more" from Stickleford Dairy. It is Three Walks End in Chillington Wood, which must thus be located near Pallington Heath, to the east of Tincleton. (Ch. 3)

The location of Jim Hayward's lime-kiln and house is more difficult, if not impossible, to establish. From the house a lane winds between the steep escarpments of a ravine till it reaches the kiln, immediately behind which lies a British castle, "with triple rings of defence, rising roll behind roll, their outlines cutting sharply against the sky". (Ch. 7) We shall seek in vain for a fort corresponding to this description in the vicinity of Tincleton, alias Stickleford. Nevertheless, Margery's father refers to Jim as one of the Stickleford folk, and their properties must at some point be contiguous if ashes can blow from Jim's couch-heap on to the dairyman's hay. (Ch. 13) But Tincleton again becomes less likely as the location for Jim's home if we bear in mind that he has a lonely walk of miles after his meeting with Margery midway between Stickleford and Rook's Gate. (Ch. 7) The kiln is also several miles away from Mount Lodge. The nearest way from the kiln to that house, and to Budmouth

(Weymouth) and Casterbridge (Dorchester), is via Rook's Gate, which abuts on the highroad to those towns. (Ch. 10, Ch. 15) All this suggests that "Jim's village" (Ch. 15) is north of Rook's Gate, possibly in the vicinity of Briantspuddle (grid reference: SY 816 933), though this again lacks anything like the trivallate fort of Hardy's description.

The Yeomenry Review in which Jim takes part is held "on some high ground a little way out of the town" of Casterbridge. (Ch. 16) This ground could well be near Frome Whitfield just north of Dorchester, and Dairyman Tucker's route thence to the Melchester (Salisbury) and London road "a mile or so ahead" (Ch. 17) could be along what is now a narrow road linking Charminster and Stinsford. On arriving at "the white track to London" Tucker sees no trace of Xanten and Margery ahead, but on looking along the other arm of the fork, that leading to Stickleford, Anglebury (Wareham) and the coast, he espies the Baron's carriage ascending a distant hill and vanishing under the trees. Misdirected by the dairyman, Jim takes the London road, but after some miles he has to stop at a wayside hamlet and inn. At this point in the original story we find the following description:

"This hamlet had once been a populous village. It bore the name of Letscombe Cross. In the middle, where most of the houses had formerly stood, a road from the hills traversed the highway at right angles down to the water meads, and at the intersection rose the remains of the old mediaeval cross which shared its name with the hamlet. The interesting relic of anti-Renaissance [sic] times was sadly nibbled by years and weather, but it still retained some of its old ornament, and was often copied into the pocket-book of the vagrant artist." (p. 84)

A little later, the cross is described as having four octagonal steps. (p. 86)

There are wayside crosses within a few miles of Dorchester to the north-east, but none in any way corresponding to the above account, or located on the road to Salisbury and London at any point that Jim could have reached in the circumstances described by Hardy.[8] However, in some other respects the vicinity of Northbrook, just to the north-east of Puddletown, on the side nearest the medieval village of Bardolfeston, is reminiscent of the hamlet that had once been the "populous village" of Letscombe Cross.

In the 1913 edition the above passage is omitted, and instead of swearing on the cross (p. 86) the Baron swears on the hilt of Jim's sword that he will no more disturb the couple in their conjugal bliss. (p. 483) No other omissions of this magnitude were made in the revision, and it may be that Hardy took the opportunity to delete such a specific reference to a cross that will be sought with as little success on the road out of Exeter as it will on that leading from Dorchester.[9]

In the revised edition most of the attributes of Casterbridge are transferred to Exonbury (Exeter), except that the latter loses Winford Hill, gaining in return a cathedral clock and generally being referred to as 'city' rather than 'town'. Budmouth becomes Tivworthy (Tiverton) as a destination for the unnamed musician (p. 454), but Plymouth when it is a matter of finding a sanctuary for the unfairly used Harriet Peach (p. 486), Lord Blakemore's becomes Lord Toneborough's (Toneborough is Taunton), and Stickleford becomes Silverthorn,

which has been identified as Silverton, six or seven miles to the north of Exeter.[10] Rook's Gate, Mount Lodge and Chillington Wood retain their names, and the descriptions of them, as of Jim's kiln, remain unaltered,[11] though we shall look in vain for specific counterparts on the map of Devon, even where we think we may have found them on that of Dorset.

Nevertheless, Hardy has to be mindful of the general situation of Jim's home, now to the north of Exonbury rather than to the east of Casterbridge. In the revised version, von Xanten still travels south-east from the scene of the Review, Idmouth (Sidmouth) superseding an unnamed cove (probably Lulworth) as his destination. But when instead of setting sail there he takes Margery to her husband's home, then returns to seek Jim on the London road, he will have to approach from the west rather than from the east. This is an alteration which well serves the changes of emphasis in the portrayal of character referred to at the beginning of this article. In the original version we read:

"Jim Hayward was standing in sight of this object [the cross] when he beheld, advancing toward it from the opposite direction, the black horses and carriage he sought, now gilded and glorious with the dying fires of the western sun." (p. 84)

This becomes:

"Standing in sight of the white way by which he had come he beheld advancing towards him the horses and carriage he sought, now black and daemonic against the slanting fires of the western sun." (p. 482)

At one point in the new edition Margery agrees that the devil has perhaps shown her all the kingdoms of the world. (p. 436) Now, at the end of the story, von Xanten has truly become one of Hardy's "Mephistophelian visitants".[12]

1. Thomas Hardy, Her Shattered Idol or The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid (Chicago: Stein, 1910) is taken here to represent the magazine version of 1883.

2. "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid", in the New Wessex Edition of The Stories of Thomas Hardy, ed. F. B. Pinion (London: Macmillan, 1977), vol. ii, Life's Little Ironies and A Changed Man.

3. Editor's note, ibid., pp. 497 f. It has also been suggested that Hardy might have wanted to make the place-names of the story "more suggestive". See Michael Benazon, "'The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid': Hardy's Modern Romance", in English Studies in Canada, v, i, Spring 1979, pp. 56 - 65, where some of Hardy's other textual alterations and their implications are also discussed.

4. J. B. Smith, "Dialect in Thomas Hardy's Short Stories", to appear in The Thomas Hardy Annual, ed. Norman Page (London: Macmillan, 1984).

5. Another change of personal name is that of Louisa Peach to Harriet Peach. The name Louisa no doubt had special significance for Hardy: see F. B. Pinion, A Hardy Companion (1968; rpt. with alterations London: Macmillan, 1974), p. 395. The only other change of personal name in the story is that of Lord and Lady Blakemore to Lord and Lady Toneborough, mentioned later in this article.

6. Such are for instance Chillington Wood and Lount Lodge. See J. Stephens Cox, Hardy's Wessex, fourth edition (St. Peter Port, Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1979).

7. Pinion, A Hardy Companion, p. 505.

8. See Alfred Pope, The Old Stone Crosses of Dorset (London: Chiswick Press, 1906), especially pp. 115 - 117.

9. Other possible reasons for the omission might be that it could have been seen as inappropriate for a satanic figure such as von Xanten to swear on a cross, or that the scene is vaguely reminiscent of that at Cross-in-Hand in Tess (Ch. 45).

10. At one point in the original story, Hardy obviously makes a slip in saying that Rook's Gate is "four miles to the west" of Stickleford (p. 30). When he 'corrects' this to "four miles to the east" of Silverthorn (p. 433), he is clearly making an adjustment required by the original topography, rather thinking of the new, Devonshire, map, on which Rook's Gate could just as well be to the west as to the east of Margery's village.

12. See Pinion, A Hardy Companion, pp. 156 - 158.

B 1

Muttersprache

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Darüber hinaus aber lassen die Beobachtungen nur den Schluß zu, daß zumindest in dem vorliegenden Sprachraum englische Wörter bei der Genusbildung zwar einem Trend folgen *können*, jedoch keiner Regel, die sich auf noch zu übernehmende Wörter mit Sicherheit anwenden ließe.

[12] Dies wird besonders deutlich bei deutschstämmigen Schülern und Studenten, die die Sprache im Elternhaus lernten und z. B. *der Permit* sagen, ohne eine der möglichen deutschen Entsprechungen zu kennen.

Die Nominalphrase als Prädikativ und als freie Umstandsangabe im Englischen und im Deutschen

Von JOHN BERNARD SMITH

Englische Studenten des Deutschen haben oft Schwierigkeiten bei der Übersetzung von Sätzen wie

The son of a jobbing gardener,
he became a journalist of unusual quality[1].

Gegen die Feststellung, daß

*Der Sohn eines Gelegenheitsgärtners,
wurde er ein außerordentlich guter Journalist

nicht akzeptabel ist, könnten sie einwenden, daß eine scheinbar analoge deutsche Konstruktion mit vorangestellter Nominalphrase:

Westfale von Geburt, lebt er jetzt in Bayern,

unter Beispielen von literarischem und journalistischem Deutsch in einer modernen Grammatik aufgeführt wird.[2]

Den Unterschied zwischen der englischen und der deutschen Konstruktion könnte man anhand folgender Sätze verdeutlichen:

(1) John was a worried man
(2) John came back a worried man
(3) John came back, a worried man
(4) A worried man, John came back
(5) The son of a jobbing gardener, he became a journalist of unusual quality

1. *NP als Prädikativ nach ›echten‹ Kopulas*

Der Satz

(1) John was a worried man

vertritt einen Satzbauplan, der aus den Gliedern Subjekt – Verb – Prädikativ besteht. Das Subjekt wie auch das Prädikativ ist hier eine Nominalphrase (NP), während das Verb durch die inhaltsarme Kopula *be* realisiert wird. Andere englische Kopulas, die oft mit substantivischem Prädikativ stehen, sind *become, continue (to be), feel (like), get (to be), look (like), prove (to be), remain, seem (to be), sound (like)* und *stay*, während im Deutschen *bleiben, heißen, scheinen (zu sein), sein* und *werden (zu)* auf ähnliche Weise durch eine Nominalphrase ergänzt werden können.

Die bei obigen Beispielen eingeklammerte Kopula oder Präposition kann manchmal zwischen Kopula und Ergänzung eingeschaltet oder – wie im Falle von *scheinen* – diesen nachgestellt werden. Die Ergänzung steht dann immer noch in prädikativer Beziehung zum Subjekt, obwohl der Satz als Vertreter eines anderen Bauplans betrachtet werden

[1] Der vollständige Satz, der diesem Beispiel zugrunde liegt, stammt aus einem Auszug aus dem *Guardian* vom 4. 5. 1965, der als Übersetzungstext verwendet wird in: G. Weischedel u. N. L. Thomas, *Modern Prose Passages for Translation into German;* London: Pitman 1968, S. 32.

[2] A.E. Hammer, *German Grammar and Usage;* London: Arnold 1971, S. 44.

kann.[3] Oft steht das Verb mit »Anknüpfungsglied« in freier oder stilistischer Variation mit dem Verb ohne »Anknüpfungsglied«, wie in:

We continued friends/We continued to be friends

und

Er scheint ein Schwätzer/Er scheint ein Schwätzer zu sein[4].

Werden und *werden zu* sind mitunter auf ähnliche Weise austauschbar, wie in:

Das Wasser ist Eis geworden/Das Wasser ist zu Eis geworden[5],

aber in vielen Kontexten schließen sie einander aus. Man vergleiche:

Sie wurde Mutter

mit:

Er ist zum Mann geworden.

Werden zu kann oft durch ›to change, turn, develop into‹ wiedergegeben werden.[6]

Nach manchen anderen Kopulas ist ein Anknüpfungsglied obligatorisch bei substantivischer, nicht aber bei adjektivischer Ergänzung. Man vergleiche:

He grew tired

mit:

He grew to be a tired old man

und

Er sieht sportlich aus

mit:

Er sieht wie ein Sportler aus

Beispiele solcher Kopulas sind *grow (to be)*, *smell (like/of)*, *taste (like/of)* im Englischen und *aussehen (nach/wie)*, *duften (nach/wie)*, *erscheinen (als)*, *klingen (nach/wie)*, *riechen (nach/wie)*, *schmecken (nach/wie)* im Deutschen.

Wieder andere Kopulas, wie z. B. *gelten (als/für)*, erfordern ein Anknüpfungsglied sowohl bei substantivischer als auch bei adjektivischer Ergänzung, und eine weitere Gruppe kann durch ein Adjektiv ohne Anknüpfungsglied ergänzt werden, ist jedoch mit substantivischer Ergänzung kaum denkbar. Beispiele sind: *keep (cool); (leer) ausgehen, (ungünstig) ausfallen.*

2. *NP als Prädikativ nach Verben der Bewegung, der Zustandsänderung usw.*

Manche Verben sind nicht nur Kopulas, sondern auch Mitglieder anderer Kategorien. So kommen *stand* und *fall* vielleicht häufiger als intransitive Verben denn als Kopulas vor. Wenn sie als Kopulas verwendet werden, verlieren einige Verben dieser Art leicht ihre volle Bedeutung und übernehmen die Aufgabe eines inhaltlich neutralen Satzbandes.[7] Wenn man z. B. von einem Menschen sagt: *He stood sponsor* oder *He fell ill*, ist man sich kaum der eigentlichen Bedeutung von *stand* und *fall* bewußt. In diesen Kontexten bedeuten sie kaum mehr als *be* und *become*. Mit dem Satz

John came back a worried man

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[3] *Der Große Duden*, Bd. 4: *Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache;* Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut [3]1973, S. 505ff.

[4] Johannes Erben, *Deutsche Grammatik;* München: Hueber 1972, S. 142.

[5] *Ebd.*, S. 143.

[6] Hammer, *a.a.O.*, S. 357.

[7] Otto Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, Part III, 1927; Neudruck: London: Allen and Unwin 1974, S. 356.

hat es aber eine andere Bewandtnis. Hier spielt das Verb zwar die Rolle einer Kopula, inhaltlich ist es jedoch nicht weniger neutral, als wenn es intransitiv verwendet würde. Der Satz kann auch durch

John was a worried man when he came back

umschrieben werden, während eine solche Umschreibung bei Sätzen wie *He stood sponsor* oder *He fell ill* nicht möglich ist.[8] Die Verben dieser beiden Sätze bezeichnen wir deshalb als ›echte‹ Kopulas.

Manche Verben also, die in erster Linie anderen Kategorien angehören, können die Aufgabe eines prädizierenden Verbs übernehmen[9], ohne inhaltlich neutralisiert zu werden. *Come, go* und andere Verben, die Bewegung oder eine Zustandsänderung ausdrücken; *die, live; lie, sit, stand* werden häufig auf diese Weise verwendet, und viele können durch eine Nominalphrase ergänzt werden[10]:

When sorrows come, they come not single spies[11].

I had gone to bed Henry Jekyll, I had awakened Edward Hyde[12].

Während in manchen englischen Sätzen dieser Art das Anknüpfungsglied *as* zwischen Verb und nominale Ergänzung eingeschaltet werden könnte[13], ist in den entsprechenden deutschen Konstruktionen verbindendes *als* (oder gelegentlich *wie*) fast immer obligatorisch:

Wenn die Leiden kommen,/So kommen sie wie einzle Späher nicht[14].

Als Henry Jekyll war ich eingeschlafen, als Edward Hyde jedoch erwacht[15].

Analog heißt es im Deutschen *Er kam als erster* usw., im Englischen aber *He came first* oder *He was the first to come.*

Von Konstruktionen dieser Art sagt Grimm: »die mhd. und ahd. sprache, gleich den classischen, ja den meisten übrigen enthielt sich hier noch ganz der partikel und setzte den reinen nominativ« und zeigt dann, daß dies auch zum Teil im Neuhochdeutschen der Fall war, wie in:

und ich werde der seligste unter den glücklichen wohnen (Klinger)[16].

Im heutigen Deutsch finden sich solche »freien Prädikative« nach Erben nur im poetischen Stil, wie z.B. in:

Du fliegst Vogel in Lüften, schwimmst Fisch im Meer (Hesse)[17].

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[8] *Ebd.*, S. 358.

[9] Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, Jan Svartvik, *A Grammar of Contemporary English;* London: Longman 1972; 5. verbesserte Auflage 1974, S. 1016.

[10] Jespersen, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 7), S. 358–363 u. 383–384.

[11] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet;* in: *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare;* Oxford: Oxford University Press, IV. v. 78., S. 1037.

[12] Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde;* in: Robert Louis Stevenson, *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde;* London: Everyman 1925; Neudruck 1972, S. 54.

[13] Jespersen, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 7), S. 358.

[14] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, übersetzt von A.W. von Schlegel; in: *Shakespeares Werke*, IV; Berlin: Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft 1955, S. 154.

[15] Robert Louis Stevenson, *Meistererzählungen*, übersetzt von Alastair; Zürich: Manesse 1958, S. 468.

[16] Jacob Grimm u. Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1. Bd.; Leipzig: Hirzel 1854, S. 254–255.

[17] Erben, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 4), S. 142–143.

Verbindendes *als* fehlt aber auch in einigen häufig vorkommenden Ausdrücken wie *Modell sitzen, Pate stehen, Schmiere stehen, Wache stehen*[18], in denen das Verb eine prädizierende Rolle spielt.

3. *NP als Prädikativ nach dem Passiv der ›komplex-transitiven‹ Verben*

Ein Satz wie

They elected Jack

besteht aus den Gliedern Subjekt – Verb – Objekt in dieser Reihenfolge. Wenn wir den Satz so erweitern, daß er

They elected Jack leader

lautet, stellen wir fest, daß das hinzugefügte Substantiv im gleichen Verhältnis zum Objekt steht wie im Gleichsetzungssatz das Prädikativ zum Subjekt. Dieses zweite Substantiv bezeichnen wir deshalb als Objektsprädikativ, und Verben, die durch ein Objekt mit Objektsprädikativ ergänzt werden, nennen wir nach Quirk ›komplex-transitive‹ Verben.[19] Wird ein komplex-transitives Verb ins Passiv gesetzt, dann wird das Objekt zum Subjekt und das Objektsprädikativ zum Subjektsprädikativ. Das Ergebnis ist also ein Gleichsetzungssatz. So wird der zuletzt angeführte englische Satz im Passiv zu:

Jack was elected leader,

und ähnlich läßt sich der deutsche Satz

Man schimpfte den Jungen einen Taugenichts

in den Gleichsetzungssatz

Der Junge wurde ein Taugenichts geschimpft

umwandeln.

Es folgt eine Liste häufig vorkommender komplex-transitiver Verben: *appoint (to be/as), bring up (to be/as), call, consider (to be/as), christen, create, crown, declare (to be), dub, elect (to be/as), make, name (as), proclaim (to be), prove (to be).* Die einzigen deutschen Beispiele sind: *heißen, nennen, schelten, schimpfen, schmähen, taufen.*[20]

Nach einigen der englischen Verben kann, wie oben in Klammern angedeutet, zwischen Objekt und Objektsprädikativ *to be* oder *as* eingeschaltet werden, und in der Passivtransformation steht dasselbe Anknüpfungsglied fakultativ zwischen Verb und Subjektsprädikativ. Bei anderen Verben ist ein Anknüpfungsglied obligatorisch: *believe to be, accept as, mistake for.* Eine Anknüpfung in der Form einer Partikel oder einer Präposition ist auch bei allen anderen deutschen Verben obligatorisch, deren Objekt im Gleichsetzungsverhältnis zu einer zweiten Nominalphrase steht: *ansehen als/für, auffassen als, ausersehen als/zu, ausgeben als/für, begrüßen als, bestimmen zu, betrachten als, bezeichnen als, degradieren zu, empfinden als, erkennen als, erklären für, ernennen zu, halten für, krönen zu, laden zu* (wie in: *zu Gast laden*), *machen zu* (aber: *er hat sich lieb Kind gemacht*), *schlagen zu* (wie in: *zum Ritter schlagen*), *verwandeln in, wählen zu* sind Beispiele.[21]

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[18] Vgl. George O. Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language;* New York: Ungar [2]1922, S. 464 u. 492.

[19] Quirk u.a., *a.a.O.* (Anm. 9), S. 38.

[20] *Der Große Duden, a.a.O.* (Anm. 3), S. 514.

[21] Für weitere Beispiele siehe Bernhard Engelen, *Die Satzbaupläne II, 8 und II, 2;* in: *Studien zur Syntax des heutigen Deutsch.* (= *Sprache der Gegenwart*, VI.) Düsseldorf: Schwann 1971, S. 80–84.

Manchmal fehlt eine Anknüpfung in der einen Sprache, wo sie in der anderen obligatorisch ist. So heißt es im Englischen

He was born the son of wealthy parents

im Deutschen aber

Er wurde *als* Sohn reicher Eltern geboren.

4. *NP als Prädikativ nach reflexiven Verben*

Eine häufige Erscheinung im Englischen sind Sätze mit kopulativem Verb und adjektivischer Ergänzung nach dem Muster *The milk turned sour, Our dreams come true, My coat is wearing thin.* Das Verb drückt hier einen eintretenden Zustand aus, wird daher im Gegensatz zu der einen bestehenden Zustand charakterisierenden ›current copula‹ als ›resulting copula‹ bezeichnet.[22] Von solchen Konstruktionen behauptet Leisi: »Im Deutschen muß hier, wenn die Konstruktion überhaupt möglich ist, das Reflexivum gebraucht werden: *das Kind hat sich müde gespielt, die Sache läuft sich tot;* eine Ausnahme bildet nur *werden.*«[23] Diesen Ausführungen kann man zweierlei entgegenhalten. Erstens scheint Leisi Bildungen des Typs *freikommen, hochfliegen, kaputtgehen, losbrechen, vollaufen* zu übersehen, in denen das Adjektiv allerdings in keiner selbständigen Satzgliedrolle mehr steht[24], das Verb aber ungefähr dieselbe Aufgabe erfüllt wie die englische ›resulting copula‹. Zweitens kann das Englische seinerseits manche Ausdrücke wie *Das Kind hat sich müde gespielt, Wir haben uns warm gelaufen, Er hat sich gesund geschlafen* nicht mit denselben syntaktischen Mitteln wiedergeben, obwohl Sätze, die aus den Gliedern Subjekt – Verb – Reflexivpronomen – Adjektiv bestehen, durchaus möglich sind. So sagt man z.B. *He worried himself sick, We shouted ourselves hoarse* usw.[25] Im ganzen trifft es aber wohl zu, daß das Englische sich den Satztyp mit ›resulting copula‹ eher zu eigen gemacht hat, wogegen das Deutsche sich auf den mit reflexivem Verb spezialisiert hat. So entspricht die eine Konstruktion öfter der anderen, wie bei *get ready* und *sich fertigmachen.*

Steht im Englischen eine Kopula, gleich welcher Art, so bietet sich oft eine deutsche Übersetzung mit reflexivem Verb an. Diese syntaktische Nichtäquivalenz erklärt sich zum Teil aus der Tatsache, daß viele englische Verben, die früher reflexiv waren, im heutigen Sprachgebrauch gewöhnlich auf das Reflexivpronomen verzichten[26] und daß manche dieser Verben als Kopulas funktionieren. Für Dickens' *She felt herself quite equal to it*[27] würde man heute also wahrscheinlich sagen: *She felt quite equal to it.* Da das Deutsche das Reflexivpronomen des öfteren beibehält, wo es im Englischen nicht mehr vorkommt, ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß sich ein reflexives Verb im Deutschen manchmal findet, wo im Englischen eine einfache Kopula steht:

Ich fühle mich krank:	I feel ill
Es hört sich gut an:	It sounds good
Es erwies sich als falsch:	It proved to be wrong

[22] Quirk u.a., *a.a.O.* (Anm. 9), S. 820–821.

[23] Ernst Leisi, *Das heutige Englisch: Wesenszüge und Probleme;* Heidelberg: Winter ^{6}1974, S. 152.

[24] *Der Große Duden, a.a.O.* (Anm. 3), S. 391.

[25] Vgl. Engelen, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 21), S. 72.

[26] Jespersen, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 7), S. 325–331.

[27] *Ebd.*, S. 327.

Obwohl solche deutschen Konstruktionen die Analyse Subjekt – Verb – Objekt – Objektsprädikativ theoretisch zulassen, gehören ihre Verben nach Grebe derselben Kategorie an wie die nichtreflexiven kopulaartigen Verben[28], und für uns ist es interessant, daß im modernen Sprachgebrauch nach den echten reflexiven Verben eine substantivische Ergänzung immer im Nominativ steht[29]:

Er dünkt sich ein Held (zu sein)
Er fühlt sich als Held
Er führt sich wie ein Betrunkener auf
Er gibt sich als edler Fürst.

Auch nach den unechten reflexiven Verben überwiegt der Nominativ[30]:

Er glaubt/weiß sich Herr der Lage
Er sieht sich als Weiser an
Er betrachtet sich als unser Freund
Er empfand sich als Begnadeter.

5. *NP als freie Umstandsangabe*

Aus obigen Ausführungen geht hervor, daß in dem Satz

(1) John was a worried man

die zweite Nominalphrase das Prädikativ einer »echten« Kopula ist, während in dem Satz

(2) John came back a worried man

die zweite Nominalphrase in der Oberflächenstruktur das Prädikativ eines als Kopula funktionierenden intransitiven Verbs ist. Sowohl im Englischen als auch im Deutschen lassen sich Subjektsprädikative jeder Art auf folgende Weise charakterisieren:

(i) Sie sind konstitutive Satzglieder.
(ii) Außer wenn sie, um besonders hervorgehoben zu werden, ins Vorfeld gesetzt werden, stehen sie hinter dem Verb (hinter der Personalform des Verbs im deutschen Hauptsatz). Im Aussagesatz ist die Satzgliedfolge dann Subjekt – Verb – Prädikativ.[31]
(iii) Sie werden normalerweise nicht durch Intonation vom übrigen Satz getrennt.

Es gilt nun, das Prädikatsnomen in Sätzen wie (2) von der Nominalphrase am Ende von Sätzen wie

(3) John came back, a worried man

sorgfältig zu unterscheiden. Hier ist *a worried man* kein Prädikativ, sondern eine freie Umstandsangabe des Typs, den Quirk als »supplementive clause« bezeichnet. Diesen Terminus verwendet er für Partizipialsätze und verblose Gliedsätze, deren Funktion adverbial ist[32], die aber nicht mit einer subordinierenden Konjunktion eingeleitet werden. Bestehen solche Sätze aus einer Nominalphrase, so unterscheiden sie sich durch folgende Merkmale von Prädikatsnomina:

(i) Sie sind freie Satzglieder.

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[28] *Der Große Duden*, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 3), S. 505.

[29] *Der Große Duden*, Bd. 9: *Hauptschwierigkeiten der deutschen Sprache*; Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut 1965, S. 383.

[30] *Ebd.*

[31] Quirk u.a., *a.a.O.* (Anm. 9), S. 945–946. – *Der Große Duden*, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 3), S. 624.

[32] *Ebd.*, S. 760.

(ii) Sie stehen (a) in Endstellung, (b) in Anfangsstellung oder (c) unmittelbar hinter dem Subjekt des Hauptsatzes. In dieser Stellung sind sie formal nicht von einer als Apposition des Subjekts dienenden Nominalphrase zu unterscheiden.[33]

(iii) Sie werden durch Intonation vom übrigen Satz getrennt.

Diese verschiedenen Stellungen lassen sich durch folgende Beispiele veranschaulichen:

(a) John came back, a worried man (= Beispielsatz 3)

(b) A worried man, John came back (= Beispielsatz 4)

(c) John, a worried man, came back.

Gliedsätze, die durch Nominalphrasen realisiert werden, sind, wie andere Beispiele der »supplementive clause«, semantisch vielseitig: »It is often implied that what they describe is a ›contingency‹ or ›accompanying circumstance‹ to what is described in the main clause. ›Contingency‹ may be interpreted, according to context, as a causal or temporal connection, or perhaps most commonly of all, a ›circumstantial‹ one.«[34] Sie können auch die Aufgabe eines Konzessivsatzes übernehmen, wie in:

A worried man, John nevertheless came back.

Umstandsangaben, die aus einer Nominalphrase bestehen, kommen auch im Deutschen vor, und sie haben mit der englischen »supplementive clause« viele Charakteristika gemeinsam. Erben, der sie vom Gleichsetzungsnominativ nach Verben der Bewegung nicht klar unterscheidet, beschreibt sie mit folgenden Worten: »Im poetischen Stil finden sich darüber hinaus noch zuweilen ›freie Prädikative‹, ›halbprädikative‹ oder ›appositive‹ Substantive, welche – oft neben Verben der Bewegung, aber auch sonst – Art, Verfassung oder Umstände des Handlungsträgers angeben, d.h. den Agens des geschilderten Geschehens und zugleich das Geschehen selbst näher bestimmen.«[35]

Diese Konstruktion kann (a) im Nachfeld oder (b) im Vorfeld stehen, wie die ›supplementive clause‹ im Englischen:

(a) Peter wurde aus dem Krankenhaus entlassen,
ein völlig geheilter Mensch

(b) Ein völlig geheilter Mensch,
wurde Peter aus dem Krankenhaus entlassen.

Eine Nominalphrase aber, die im Deutschen unmittelbar hinter dem Subjekt steht, wird man wohl am ehesten als Apposition und nicht als freie Umstandsangabe auffassen:

Peter, ein völlig geheilter Mensch,
wurde aus dem Krankenhaus entlassen.

Nur wenn sie das Mittelfeld bezieht, wird man sie eindeutig als freie Umstandsangabe erkennen:

Peter wurde, ein völlig geheilter Mensch,
aus dem Krankenhaus entlassen[36].

Hiermit weist sie sich als adverbiales Satzglied aus[37], und es ist interessant, daß Motsch in diesem Zusammenhang von »adverbialen Appositionen« spricht.[38]

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[33] *Ebd.*, S. 760–761.

[34] *Ebd.*, S. 762.

[35] Erben, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 4), S. 142–143.

[36] Dieses Beispiel und das darauf folgende sind aus: Wolfgang Motsch, *Untersuchungen zur Apposition im Deutschen;* in: *Studia Grammatica*, 5; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1965, S. 118.

[37] *Der Große Duden, a.a.O.* (Anm. 3), S. 626–630.

[38] Motsch, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 36), S. 117–120.

Allerdings werden solche »adverbialen Appositionen« vielleicht eher mit *als* eingeleitet, und wenn sie dann im Vor- oder Mittelfeld stehen, werden sie in vielen Fällen weder durch Intonation noch durch Kommasetzung vom übrigen Satz getrennt[39]:

> Peter wurde als völlig geheilter Mensch aus dem Krankenhaus entlassen, usw.

In dem obigen Zitat scheint Erben anzudeuten, daß die Nominalphrase als freie Umstandsangabe ohne einleitendes *als* für den durchschnittlichen Sprachgebrauch uncharakteristisch ist. Dies trifft vielleicht für Nominalphrasen dieser Art in Mittel- oder Endstellung zu, und es ist bezeichnend, daß Prosaübersetzungen aus dem Englischen in das Deutsche gern statt einer satzeinleitenden adverbialen Nominalphrase eine andere Konstruktion wählen, auch wenn auf diese Weise oft die Bedeutung des Originals zum Teil verlorengeht:

> Anastasie's born brother, he did not waste much sentiment on the lady[40].
> Er war der Bruder Anastasiens und verschwendete keine Gefühle an diese Dame[41].
> Child of a sheltered middle-class household, she had kept physical distances all her life[42].
> Sie war wohlbehütet in einer Mittelstandsfamilie aufgewachsen und war immer scheu in solchen Dingen gewesen[43].

Trotzdem dürfte die adverbiale Nominalphrase in Anfangsstellung auch in den weniger gehobenen Stilschichten häufiger vorkommen, als man nach den Ausführungen Erbens und anderer Grammatiker[44] annehmen würde. So finden wir zum Beispiel:

> Früher Modell, ist er jetzt ganz gentleman[45].
> Ursprünglich eine selbständige indogermanische Sprache, hat dieses [das Albanische] seit dem Altertum so viele lateinische Lehnwörter aufgenommen, daß sein Wortschatz heute zum größeren Teil aus lateinischem Gut besteht[46].
> Historiker an einer der großen Universitäten des Landes und politisch links, war er bald nach der Besetzung in Geiselhaft genommen worden[47].
> Eine Millionärin, die eine Kette von Wäschereien, mehrere Spaghetti-Fabriken, eine Unzahl von Grundstücken und Wohnblocks besitzt – muß sie sich schmücken mit der Zuneigung jüngerer Männer?[48]

und mit »falsch« bezogener Nominalphrase:

> Zunächst noch »Ableger« der großen kommerziellen Datenverarbeitungsanlagen, gingen bald fast alle Computerhersteller dazu über, diese Vielzweckrechner als spezielle Produkte zu fertigen[49].

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[39] *Der Große Duden*, Bd. 9, *Zweifelsfälle der deutschen Sprache;* Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut ²1972, S. 380–381.

[40] Stevenson, *The Treasure of Franchard;* in: Ders., *Dr Jekyll* ... (Anm. 12), S. 230.

[41] Stevenson, *Meistererzählungen* ... (Anm. 15), S. 169.

[42] Elizabeth Bowen, *Mysterious Kôr;* in: Elizabeth Bowen, *The Demon Lover and Other Stories;* Harmondsworth: Penguin 1966, S. 185.

[43] Elizabeth Bowen, *Geheimnisvolles Khôr;* in: *Irische Erzähler*, übersetzt von Elisabeth Schnack; Zürich: Manesse 1952, S. 282.

[44] Zum Beispiel Grebe in: *Der Große Duden, a.a.O.* (Anm. 3), S. 557.

[45] Paula Modersohn-Becker, *Briefe und Tagebuchblätter.* (= *List-Bücher*, 88.) München: List o.J., S. 105.

[46] Walter Porzig, *Das Wunder der Sprache.* (= *UTB*, 32.) München: Francke ⁵1971, S. 267.

[47] Helmuth Plessner, *Die verspätete Nation;* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1959, S. 9.

[48] *Hör Zu*, 30/1975, S. 8.

[49] *VDI-Nachrichten*, 1/1975.

Wenn die vorangestellte adverbiale Nominalphrase, wie diese Beispiele vermuten lassen, im heutigen Deutsch verhältnismäßig häufig auftritt, so ist die Frage berechtigt, warum Sätze wie

(5) The son of a jobbing gardener, he became a journalist of unusual quality

nicht wörtlich übersetzt werden dürfen.

6. *NP als »unechte« freie Umstandsangabe*

Dem Subjekt des Satzes vorangestellte Nominalphrasen sind in der heutigen geschriebenen englischen Sprache eine sehr häufige Erscheinung, wie ein Blick in eine beliebige Zeitung bestätigt. Viele dieser Nominalphrasen können nicht als »supplementive clause« bezeichnet werden, denn sie spielen keine adverbiale Rolle im Satz. So ist in (5) die Nominalphrase *The son of a jobbing gardener* kaum als Antithese zu dem in dem Hauptsatz genannten Sachverhalt gemeint, und die naheliegendste Umschreibung des Satzes ergibt zwei koordinierte Sätze:

He was the son of a jobbing gardener and
became a journalist of unusual quality.

Ähnlich kann in

The son of a clerk in the town hall,
Ryder won a scholarship to Ealing County School[50]

oder in

A hall built by a brewer, it holds 3000 people[51]

die vorangestellte Nominalphrase kaum als kausale Angabe gedeutet werden. In allen drei Beispielen vertreten die Nominalphrasen koordinierte Sätze. Sie sind rein additiv, eine Art vorangestellter Apposition, und wir bezeichnen sie als »pseudo-supplementive clauses« oder »unechte« freie Umstandsangaben. Die präskriptive Grammatik mag sich gegen diese Konstruktion wehren, sie entspricht aber den sprachlichen Tendenzen der Zeit: Sie kommt dem Bestreben entgegen, möglichst viel Information in dem Satz zu verdichten, ohne ihn unbeholfen oder unverständlich wirken zu lassen.[52]

In allen bisher angeführten Beispielen der vorangestellten Nominalphrase im Deutschen spielt die Nominalphrase eine adverbiale Rolle, indem sie Konzession, Begründung usw. ausdrückt, obwohl sich die genaue Bedeutung nicht immer ermitteln läßt. Unechte freie Umstandsangaben in der Form einer Nominalphrase scheinen aber im Deutschen nicht vorzukommen, oder auf jeden Fall keine so häufige Erscheinung zu sein wie im Englischen.

Wie das Englische bemüht sich auch das heutige Schriftdeutsch, möglichst viel Information in dem Satz zu konzentrieren, und es erleichtert dem Leser das Verständnis, indem es das Satzgerüst durch häufigen Gebrauch von Mitteln wie der Apposition, dem Relativsatz und der Partizipialgruppe auflockert.[53] Warum gehört die vorangestellte Nominalapposition nicht zu den Mitteln, die das heutige Deutsch verwendet, um dieses Ziel zu erreichen? Das Fehlen dieser Konstruktion erklärt sich wohl aus der Struktur des Satzes. Im Aussagesatz steht eine adverbiale Apposition in Mittelstellung – wie oben erwähnt wurde – hinter

[50] *Observer*, 2. 2. 1975, S. 11.

[51] *Sunday Telegraph*, 9. 3. 1975, S. 15.

[52] J.B. Smith, *The Noun Phrase as Complement and as Adverbial Clause in Contemporary English*; erscheint demnächst in: *English Studies*.

[53] Hans Eggers, *Deutsche Sprache im 20. Jahrhundert*. (= *Serie Piper*, 61.) München: Piper 1973, besonders Kapitel III, S. 45–59.

der Personalform des Verbs und unterscheidet sich auf diese Weise deutlich von der Nominalphrase als Apposition des Subjekts, die eine Stellung unmittelbar hinter diesem und vor der Personalform des Verbs bezieht. Im Englischen aber sind adverbiale Apposition in Mittelstellung und Apposition des Subjekts formal identisch, da sie beide unmittelbar hinter dem Subjekt des Satzes stehen und sich auch nicht durch andere Merkmale unterscheiden. Da eine adverbiale Apposition ohne weiteres vorangestellt werden kann, ist es möglich, daß auch nichtadverbialen Appositionen nach diesem Muster eine gleiche Stellung zugeteilt wurde.

Zum Schluß ist es erwähnenswert, daß das Deutsche auch über andere Konstruktionen verfügt, deren »additive« Funktion derjenigen der englischen »pseudo-supplementive clause« ähnelt. So finden wir Sätze des Typs

> Als bisher größtes Kernkraftwerk hat der Block A in Biblis bei Darmstadt Ende vergangenen Jahres seine volle Leistung, 1200 Megawatt, erreicht.[54]

Hier wird die vorangestellte Nominalphrase mit inhaltlich leerem *als* eingeleitet, das im Englischen kein Gegenstück hat, und eine stilistisch äquivalente Übersetzung würde etwa lauten:

> The largest nuclear power station to date, Block A at Biblis near Darmstadt reached its full output of 1200 megawatts at the end of last year.

Das folgende Beispiel ist für die gedrängten Biographien typisch, die überall in Zeitungen, Enzyklopädien, den Klappentexten von Verlegern u.dgl. anzutreffen sind:

> Friedrich Dürrenmatt ... wurde am 5. Januar 1921 in Konolfingen bei Bern geboren. Der Sohn eines protestantischen Pfarrers studierte ... in Bern und Zürich Philosophie und Theologie.[55]

Hier bringt das Subjekt des zweiten Satzes neue Information, und eine wörtliche Übersetzung der Konstruktion ist nicht möglich.[56] Dem Übersetzer, der der englischen Presse täglich huldigt, wird sich aber zweifelsohne eine unechte freie Umstandsangabe aufdrängen:

> The son of a Protestant clergyman, he read philosophy and theology at Bern and Zürich.

Zusammenfassung

Im Gleichsetzungssatz mit Nominalphrase als Ergänzung kann das Verb nicht nur durch eine Kopula, sondern auch durch ein Verb der Bewegung, ein reflexives Verb oder das Passiv eines Verbs, nach dem im Aktiv ein Objekt mit Objektsprädikativ steht, realisiert werden. Im ersten Teil dieser Arbeit werden englische und deutsche Beispiele solcher Sätze verglichen. Dann wird gezeigt, daß eine Nominalphrase als Ergänzung eines Verbs der Bewegung zwar oft eine oberflächliche Ähnlichkeit mit einer als freie Umstandsangabe funktionierenden Nominalphrase aufweist, daß die beiden jedoch sowohl formal als auch semantisch zu unterscheiden sind. Eine Nominalphrase als freie Umstandsangabe kann z.B. ohne weiteres vorangestellt werden. Solche vorangestellten freien Umstandsangaben, die aus einer Nominalphrase bestehen, kommen im Englischen häufig vor, und der Verfasser dieses Beitrags versucht nachzuweisen, daß sie im Deutschen häufiger vorkommen, als im allgemeinen angenommen wird. Im heutigen Englisch sind aber nicht alle vorangestellten Nominalphrasen freie Umstandsangaben. Viele sind weiter nichts als vorangestellte Appositionen. Solche »unechten« freien Umstandsangaben, die dem sprachökonomischen Bestreben entgegenkom-

[54] *Kulturbrief* 2/1975; Bonn: Inter Nationes, S. 38.

[55] Friedrich Dürrenmatt, *Der Verdacht:* Reinbek: Rowohlt 1961, »Zu diesem Buch«, gegenüber Titelseite.

[56] Vgl. Quirk u.a., *a.a.O.* (Anm. 9), S. 654.

men, möglichst viel Information in dem Satz zu verdichten, scheinen im Deutschen nicht vorzukommen. Das heutige Deutsch hat jedoch stilistisch und grammatisch analoge Konstruktionen entwickelt, die eine ähnliche Aufgabe erfüllen.

Summary

In clauses with intensive complementation in which the complement is a noun phrase, the verb may be realized not only as a copula, but also as a verb of motion, a reflexive verb or the passive of a complex-transitive verb. This study begins by comparing English and German examples of such constructions. It then goes on to show that although the noun-phrase complement of a verb of motion frequently bears a superficial resemblance to a noun-phrase supplementive clause, the two may be clearly distinguished, both formally and semantically. One criterion is for instance that a noun-phrase supplementive clause may easily occur at the beginning of the sentence. Such preposed noun-phrase supplementive clauses are common in English, and the author tries to show that they are more common in German than is generally supposed. In contemporary English, however, not all preposed noun phrases are supplementive clauses. Many are simply preposed appositional phrases. Such 'pseudo-supplementive' clauses, which are a device for condensing as much information into the sentence as possible, do not appear to occur in German. Contemporary German has, however, developed other stylistically and grammatically similar constructions which perform an analogous function.

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RUTH RÖMER: Die Anspielung als Sprechakt

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HANS-JOACHIM KANN: Germanismen in TIME 1976

HELMUT BERNSMEIER: Der Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein in seiner Gründungsphase

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THE NOUN PHRASE AS COMPLEMENT AND AS ADVERBIAL CLAUSE IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH

In the English clause type consisting of the elements subject, intensive verb and complement (SVC) S is typically a noun or pronoun and V is a copula, or linking verb, while C may be realized as a noun phrase:

[1] Mary is a complete bundle of nerves

The noun phrase which functions as complement here may be used in a quite different way:

[2] A complete bundle of nerves, Mary came home as soon as possible

It now represents an adverbial clause and, in a somewhat indeterminate way, expresses a temporal or causal relationship, or possibly both. If, however, we add *nevertheless* to the main clause, the dependent clause takes on a concessive meaning:

[3] A complete bundle of nerves, Mary *nevertheless* came home as soon as possible

Such semantic versatility is characteristic of supplementive clauses, which is the name given by Quirk to adverbial verbless and participial clauses not introduced by a subordinating conjunction.[1] The range of meanings suggested by such clauses may be summarized as ' "contingency" or "accompanying circumstance" to what is described in the main clause'.[2]

While it is easy to distinguish between the contrasting functions of the noun phrase as complement in [1] and as adverbial clause in [2], the difference is not always so clear-cut. Thus in

[4] Mary went away a complete bundle of nerves

there might be some doubt as to the function of the final noun phrase. Like the complement in [1] it is not separated intonationally from the rest of the sentence. On the other hand *go away* is generally classified as an intransitive verb, and an intransitive verb as such cannot take a complement.

In view of this difficulty in identifying the role of noun phrases in certain environments we need rules which will help us distinguish them as exponents of subject complement on the one hand and of adverbial clause on the other.

[1] Randolph Quirk, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, Jan Svartvik, *A Grammar of Contemporary English*, 5th impression (corrected) (London, 1974), p. 760.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 762.

The first point to note here is that the noun phrase functioning as complement in SVC constructions such as [1] is an obligatory element, whereas in the role of adverbial, as in [2], the noun phrase is an optional element. Secondly, noun-phrase adverbial clauses, like adverbial clauses in general, are characterized by considerable mobility within the sentence. Thus the noun phrase functioning as an adverbial clause in [2] occurs initially, but it could equally well occur finally:

[5] Mary came home as soon as possible, a complete bundle of nerves

or immediately after the subject of the main clause:

[6] Mary, a complete bundle of nerves, came home as soon as possible

Here it is formally indistinguishable from a noun phrase in apposition.[3] In all these positions the noun-phrase adverbial clause is marked off intonationally from the rest of the sentence. By contrast, the position of the noun-phrase complement is relatively fixed. The normal order of elements in an SVC declarative sentence is SVC, but in informal speech the complement can be given special emphasis, or 'marked', by being fronted with nuclear stress.[4] The order of elements is then CSV, but the complement is not generally marked off intonationally from the rest of the sentence as a supplementive clause in a similar position would be:

[7] A complete bundle of NÈRVES she LÓOKS

Admittedly the preposed complement can sometimes constitute a separate tone unit, indicated in writing by means of a comma:[5]

[8] A complete bundle of NÈRVES, Mary ÍS

Here the complement has a falling tone, while the rest of the sentence, which is 'almost an amplificatory tag in status', has a rising tone.[6] By contrast a preposed supplementive clause most typically occurs with the fall-rise intonation pattern characteristic of 'contingency' environments and initial adverbials:[7]

[9] A complete bundle of NĚRVES, Mary came home as soon as PÒSsible

while the main clause has a nucleus with falling tone.

The next step must be to compare the realizations of the verb in SVC sentences and in the main clauses of sentences containing a supplementive clause. Whereas a main clause can belong to any of the seven basic clause types[8] and hence, theoretically at least, contain any class of verb occurring

[3] Cf. pp. 636 f. and p. 761, *ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 945.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 946.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 946 and p. 971.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1045.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

in these seven types, in an SVC clause V can only be realized as an intensive verb such as *be*. Other common copulas are listed by Quirk, with typical adjectival complements, as 'current' copulas on the one hand, e.g. *appear (happy), feel (annoyed)*, and 'resulting' copulas on the other, e.g. *become (older), come (true)*.[9]

Some of the verbs listed belong primarily to other categories. Thus for instance *lie, stand, come, go* are most typically intransitive. By a process of conversion they may, however, become intensive verbs,[10] and as such 'tend to lose their full meaning and approach the function of an empty link'.[11] Some such intransitive verbs function as copulas with a noun complement only in certain idiomatic expressions, e.g. *stand sponsor, fall prey*. Nevertheless, this capacity of verbs belonging primarily to other categories to function as intensives should prompt us to look for SVC constructions in clauses whose verbs are not generally listed as intensives. Take for instance

[10] He began life a Protestant

Quirk interprets this sentence as a main clause (*He began life*) followed by a supplementive clause (*a Protestant*), although supplementive clauses can normally be fronted and the sequence

[11] A Protestant, he began life

'would be, to say the least, a vacuous sentence'.[12] To this one might, however, object that it would be quite acceptable to say

[12] A PRÒtestant he began life

or

A PRÒtestant, he began LÍFE

Here of course word order and intonation pattern are typical of an SVC sentence in which the complement is 'marked theme'. This, together with the fact that *a Protestant* is indispensable to the sense and hence an obligatory element, would appear to justify us in interpreting the sentence as an SVC construction, in which case we must regard *begin life*, in this context at least, as an intensive and not as an intransitive verb. Indeed, one might argue that *begin life* is more usually intensive than intransitive, since SV sentences of the type *He began life* must be rather infrequent.

If *begin life*, like *live*,[13] *be born, spend one's time* etc., is primarily intensive, we have yet to show that verbs whose main use is intransitive can on occasion function as copulas. If we take the sentence with which we began our discussion

[4] Mary went away a complete bundle of nerves

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 821.
[10] Cf. p. 1016, *ibid.*
[11] Otto Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, Vol. 3 (Heidelberg, 1927), p. 356.
[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 764.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 345.

and analogous sentences such as

[13] He grew up an only child

[14] He started out a bookmaker's assistant

[15] He died a pauper

[16] He came out of prison a changed man

we shall observe that they all contain verbs which are generally intransitive and which may further be classified as 'transitional event' verbs.[14] We also note that, unlike sentences containing true copulas, sentences of this type appear to be a fusion of two constructions. The obvious paraphrase of the last example would for instance be 'He was a changed man when he came out of prison', whereas a true copula sentence such as 'He looked a changed man' admits of no such rewording.[15] [16] may thus be explained as an independent copula clause (*He was a changed man*) in which the copula has been replaced by the verb of a dependent clause (*when he came out* ...). It is a 'cross-bred' sentence.[16] Now if we take

[17] He came out of prison, a changed man

this by contrast seems to mean 'He came out of prison, and, when he did so, he was a changed man'. However, if we front the noun phrase:

[18] A changed man, he came out of prison

it means something like 'Now that he was a changed man ...' or 'Since he was a changed man ...'. As we have seen, such semantic versatility is typical of supplementive clauses.

This brings us on to the formal characteristics of the two types of sentence exemplified by [16] and [17]. The former corresponds to our definition of an SVC sentence in that the final noun phrase does not constitute a separate tone unit and can only be fronted when given special emphasis. In the latter the noun phrase is marked off by a comma as a separate tone unit, and it is fully mobile, since it can be fronted, as has already been indicated, or be placed immediately after the subject, especially if this is replaced by a noun.

These considerations make it clear that [4] and [13] to [16] must be interpreted as copula sentences. It is therefore difficult to accept Quirk's implied assumption that [16] and [17] are 'alternative renderings of the same sentence' or his statement that the final noun phrase of [16] is a verbless supplementive clause.[17] By contrast, Jespersen[18] interprets the final noun phrase of a sentence exactly analogous to [16]

[19] He came back a changed being altogether

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[15] Cf. Jespersen, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
[16] Cf. A. V. Isačenko, 'Basic Syntactic Structures in Teaching' in *Linguistic Theories and their Application* (Aidela, 1967), pp. 96 ff.
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 763.
[18] *Op. cit.*, pp. 356ff.

as a 'quasi-predicative', which is one of the terms he uses for complement. The only difference between 'quasi-predicative' and the other term, 'predicative', is that the former refers to the complement of an intransitive verb fulfilling the role of copula, while the latter refers to the complement of a true copula. On the other hand Jespersen distinguishes complements of both kinds from noun and adjective phrases in 'extraposition' on the formal grounds that these are marked off from the rest of the sentence. Thus in

[20] The morning had broken clear ...

the adjective is a quasi-predicative, or complement, while in

[21] In the east the day was breaking, pale and desolate

the adjective phrase is in extraposition. In other words it is a supplementive clause.

II

Now that we have established criteria for distinguishing the noun-phrase complement from the noun-phrase adverbial clause we are in a better position to comment on the two, with particular reference to their role in contemporary English.

In Shelley's

[22] Mont Blanc appears, — still, snowy and serene[19]

the adjectival phrase is a supplementive clause following an intransitive verb. If we delete the comma and dash which occur immediately after the verb, this becomes a copula, and the adjectival phrase its complement:

[23] Mont Blanc appears still, snowy and serene

An alternative rendering of the same sentence would of course be

[24] Mont Blanc appears to be still, snowy and serene

An optional link like *to be* in this example frequently occurs between copula and complement, especially where the latter is a noun phrase rather than an adjectival phrase. Thus we say

[25] He started out poor and unknown

but

[26] He started out (as) a bookmaker's assistant

[19] Quoted by Jespersen, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

In some instances the link is obligatory, presumably because without it the copula might be mistaken for a transitive verb:

[27] She grew *to be* a beautiful lady

[28] He turned [*zero article*] traitor

and with others it is desirable, for the same reason. Thus the real meaning of the caption to a newspaper photograph

[29] Somali model Amind Egal: Brought up a spoilt little brat (*Observer*, 10.11.74)

only becomes clear at the point where in the accompanying article the model is quoted as saying

[30] I grew up as a spoilt little brat.

The *as* which is optional here would have been essential for the proper understanding of [29]. Similarly in

[31] I had left my mother a child with a great facility for bringing up his food ... (Ian Niall, *A Galloway Childhood*, 1967)

an intransitive verb used intensively can be interpreted as a transitive verb, and this again results in ambiguity.

Among the reasons why noun-phrase adverbial clauses, like other supplementive clauses, are an effective stylistic device is that their relationship to the rest of the sentence is not made explicit by means of a subordinating conjunction as it would be in the equivalent unabbreviated adverbial clauses. The resulting indeterminacy, or even ambiguity, can be subtly exploited in literary writing. In

[32] An inveterate borrower, he was learned in the art of invention. (Angus Wilson, *The Wild Garden*, 1963)

context alone provides the link between the two clauses, while in

[33] Cutler, the British officer, was pachydermatous to ideas, but punctilious about behaviour. (G. K. Chesterton, *The Wisdom of Father Brown*, 1929)

the noun phrase following the subject iridesces between apposition and supplementive clause, and any subordinating conjunction would be out of place.

But the grammatical and semantic freedom made possible by the absence of subordinating conjunction and subject in the supplementive clause is frequently abused, particularly in the language of the press. For instance

[34] A highly skilled pilot, expert shot, natural skier, golfer, motorcyclist and voted among the world's best-dressed men — there isn't much in life that Graham Hill hasn't succeeded at. (*Daily Express*, 24.3.75)

is grammatically inept, since the understood subject of the supplementive clause does not correspond to that of the main clause, while in

[35] A woman of 40 with a youthful figure and a 22-year-old son, she wears tight trousers and a simple white shirt buttoned up to the navel, neatly sandwiched between high heels and platinum blond hair. (*Observer Magazine*, 13.4.75)

the indeterminacy of the supplementive clause has degenerated into vagueness. It is not clear whether the woman wears tight trousers although she is 40 or because she has a youthful figure, and so on.

As G. L. Brook points out,[20] in journalese 'there is a tendency to combine many incongruous pieces of information in a single sentence', and one might add that the supplementive clause, or something resembling it, has become one of the main receptacles for such information, as we see in his example

[36] Of Irish birth, benign in manner, with the pink complexion and white hair which would as well become a business executive, Mr Thompson does not prevaricate.

Here, as in [35], the phrases preceding the subject are supplementive clauses only in form, since they no longer express ' "contingency" or "accompanying circumstance" to what is described in the main clause'. The writer, who no doubt started out with a series of unconnected facts jotted down in his notebook, had various courses open to him. 1. He could have kept to note form, a device sometimes used in journalese and broadcasting, as in

[37] Dennis had been managing director of one of the largest oil companies in the world. A man with power, used to hiring and firing at top level. A disagreement had led to his resigning. (*The Listener*, 13.2.75)

2. He could have used simple or compound sentences. 3. He could have used non-restrictive relative clauses:

[38] Mr Thompson, who is Irish by birth and benign in manner and has the pink complexion and white hair which would as well become a business executive, does not prevaricate.

The disadvantages are obvious. After a short subject comes a long series of postmodifying clauses, which are in turn followed by a short predicate. The sentence consists of 30 words as compared with the 26 of the original. It is ill-balanced and difficult to understand. Even if the relative clauses are abridged the general effect remains clumsy. From the journalist's point of view at least, the advantages of the pseudo-supplementive clauses in [36] are equally obvious. Such clauses are mobile, and the subject, which could be replaced by a pronoun if necessary, need not come first. This makes for greater variety in a continuous passage, and information can be more evenly distributed throughout the sentence.

[20] G. L. Brook, *English Dialects*, 2nd ed. (London, 1965), p. 178.

Pseudo-supplementive clauses are only one of the devices used in journalese so that sentences may better carry the burden of information expected of them. Other devices such as premodification and inversion are discussed by Quirk[21] and Brook.[22]

We have so far not referred to one type of supplementive clause which has possibly contributed to the spread of pseudo-supplementive clauses. Some copulas, notably *be born, lie, stand,* can be used in both SVC and SVA constructions. They are thus capable of nominal or adverbial complementation. We can for instance say

[39] Bradshaw was born the son of a wheelwright (SVC)

and

[40] Bradshaw was born in London (SVA)

But if we say

[41] Bradshaw was born in London, the son of a wheelwright

the final noun phrase ceases to be a complement and takes on the formal characteristics of a supplementive clause. It can for instance be fronted:

[42] The son of a wheelwright, Bradshaw was born in London

Even in this position, however, it seems not to express a contingency to what is described in the main clause. Rather it seems to be equivalent to a coordinate clause linked to its neighbour by the type of *and* which signifies 'pure' addition.[23] Indeed, we might interpret [42], alternatively, as a pair of coordinate clauses in which subject and verb have been cataphorically ellipted from the first clause.[24]

Whatever construction serves as prototype, there is no doubt that verbless sentences, which are typical of, but not exclusive to, 'notebook' style (cf. the second sentence of [37]), often lend themselves to conversion into pseudo-supplementive clauses. Thus

[43] ... as a man started up from among the graves ... A fearful man, all on coarse grey, with a great iron on his leg ... The man, after looking at me for a moment, turned me upside down, and emptied my pockets. (Dickens, *Great Expectations*)

becomes in the caption to an illustration

[44] A fearful man, with a great iron on his leg ... he turned me upside down and emptied my pockets. (*Radio Times*, 20-26.9.75)

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[21] Randolph Quirk, *The Use of English*, 2nd ed. (London, 1968), pp. 173ff.
[22] G. L. Brook, *Varieties of English* (London, 1973), pp. 107ff.
[23] Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, Svartvik, *op. cit.*, p. 562.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 570f.

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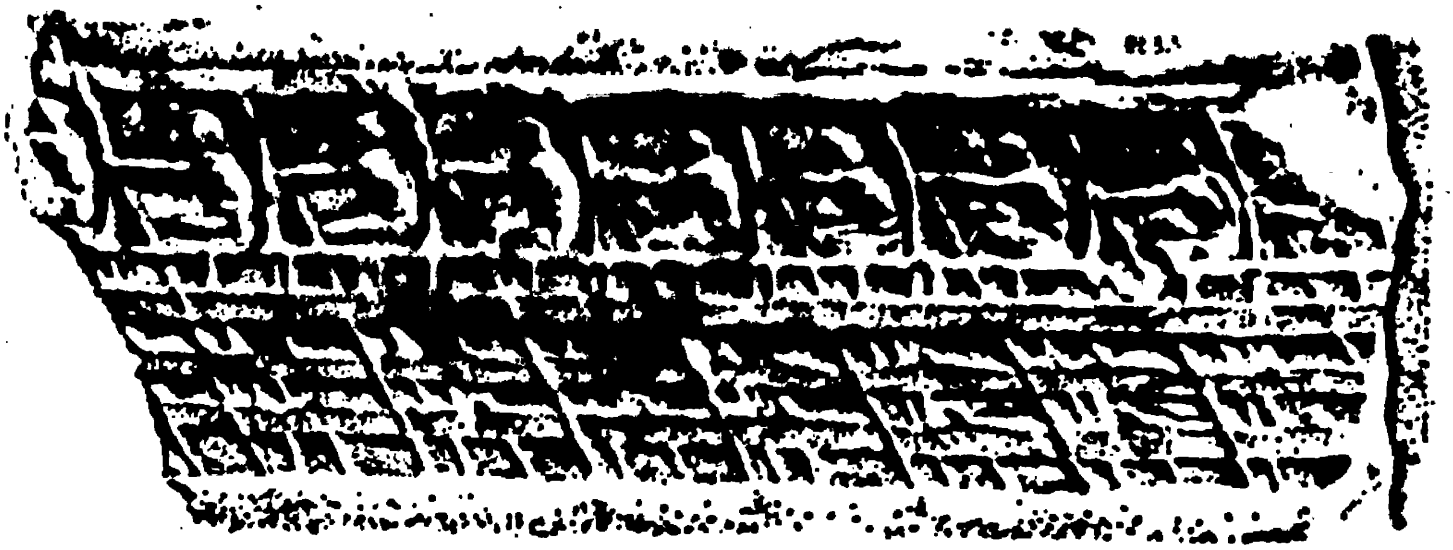

FROM WESER TO GAUDIE WATTER

by J. B. SMITH

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JACOB & WILHELM GRIMM: SELECTED TALES. Translated with an introduction and notes by David Luke. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1982. 422 pp. 0 14 044401 7. £2.50.

As Brian Alderson intimated in a fairly recent article where he traced the history of the English versions of the Grimms' Märchen and drew attention to some of the pitfalls awaiting translators, British readers have all too often had to put up with bowdlerizations and an excruciating failure to render the tone of voice of a man speaking.[1] In a way these shortcomings are understandable, but a third complaint, and one which would be less easy to answer, would be that in many of the versions we are likely to come across in lending libraries and bookshops the incidence of common-or-garden mistranslations is far too high. It is therefore a great relief to find that the work of rendering a representative selection of the longer tales has been taken in hand by a Germanist who is also a dedicated translator. Nor has Dr Luke neglected the vernacular element, since he has persuaded Mr Gilbert McKay to contribute Scots translations of six Low German tales, and Mr Philip Schofield to use a Dublin idiom for his rendering of two stories, one of them in a Swiss, the other in an Austrian dialect. The final 1857 text of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen has been used throughout, not least because it is claimed to be the one generally accepted and readily available.[2]

A glance at 'The Fisher an his Gweedwife', which is the first tale in the book, will reassure us that Mr McKay's Scots is indeed not a literary or eclectic confection, but so full-blooded a version of the Banffshire dialect that many a Sassenach will recoil in horror or bewilderment. Here it will be appropriate to point out that the English reader will probably be at no more of a disadvantage than many a German reader confronted with the originals, and, indeed, Mr McKay is kinder to his audience than were the Grimms to theirs, since in place of the odd explanation in brackets within the text he provides not only a glossary of Scots words with notes on pronunciation, but also such aids as asterisks against false friends, and stress marks where they appear necessary. In the Irish, divergences from standard English are not so much in vocabulary as in syntax and phonology, and here a bit more help would have been

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useful with the spelling conventions used (caert is for instance 'court', and oirn 'iron'; is sez merely eye-dialect for 'says', and does it rhyme with yez meaning 'you'?). But such minor obstacles are rapidly overcome, or evaded, and it does not take long, then, to discover that the translation is not only remarkably accurate (though on p. 199 — cf. Rölleke's edition, vol. 2, p. 298 — 'gatekeeper' should be in the plural), but also that Mr Schofield is quite capable of dancing a jig on the head of a pin. Compare

'"Yer man the priest wanted a whole day to himself havin a grand toime with yer woife, so they tought up this trick to get rid of yez." "Bejasus!" sez the culchee farmer, "it's only achin oi am to know if that's the trut'!" . . . When they got back to the house, be the hokey, yez wouldn't believe the hooley they were havin!' (p. 394)

with

'"Der Pfarra möcht gern mit engern Weib an ganzen Tag allan recht vergnügt zubringa, drum habn's eng den Bärn anbunden, daß ihr en aus'n Füßen kumts." "Mein", hat der Baur gsagt, "so möcht i do wissen, ob das wahr is.". . . Wie's nach Haus kuma san, holla, da is schon lusti zuganga.' (2, p. 63)

Mr McKay's idiom is more measured and sedate, innocent of vulgarisms such as 'no wey', 'loike the clappers', and 'The king . . . waited his heart in his gob', and thus well matched to the melancholy matter of 'Von dem Fischer un syner Fru' and 'Von dem Machandelboom'; we have only to compare the first page of 'The Fisher an his Gweedwìfe', his translation of the former, with the German text, to realize that not only the sense, but also the 'feel' of the original is rendered:

'"Aweel," said the fisher, "ye neednae lay doon a lang lagàmachy tae me; a speakin fleuk's ae fish I'll aye lat sweem awa."' (p. 45)

This renders:

'"Nu", säd de Mann, "du bruukst nich so veel Wöörd to maken, eenen Butt, de spreken kann, hadd ik doch wol swemmen laten."' (1, p. 119)

The more's the pity, then, that there are numerous omissions and mistranslations in the Scots text. In 'The Fisher an his Gweedwìfe' the tables are not ready for them (the fisher and his wife), but on the point of breaking, the fine trees are in fact fruit trees (p. 47 = 1, p. 121), the gweedmàn rubbed his eyes rather than opened them (p. 51 = 1, p. 126), the waves were as big as church towers, not church doors (p. 52 = 1, p. 127). On p. 48, line 2, it is not clear, because of an omission on the previous page, that 'im' (= 'him') refers to the fish. There are other omissions of a sentence or a clause at a time on pages 48 and 50. In 'The Jeniper Tree' the Evil One should inspire the stepmother to close down the lid of the chest on the neck of the boy, and the apple,

not an apple, should be placed in the latter's hand (p. 84 = 1, p. 241). The boy's granny (p. 85) is his mother's great-uncle in the original (1, p. 242), and when he becomes a bird there is in the translation no mention of the red and green feathers about his neck (p. 87 = 1, p. 244). In 'The Three Birdies' the red star is, as the Grimms' note indicates, a birthmark rather than a celestial body (p. 107 = 2, p. 65), while in 'The Dwarfie' the king does not offer his whole kingdom, but calls it together or puts it on the alert (p. 163 = 2, p. 40), and the dwarfies (Erdmänneken) do not climb, but fly, back to earth with the huntsman (p. 166 = 2, p. 43). In 'The Twa Royal Bairnies' the princess forgets to mention that she has previously turned her neglectful lover into a church and a pond (p. 255 = 2, p. 145), and in 'Auld Rinkie' we ought to be told that the heroine becomes old in the service of her captor (p. 351 = 2, p. 414). Moreover, in escaping she does not tie his beard (Bart), but a rope (Bant), to the window (p. 352 = 2, p. 415).

These blemishes would be less striking if it were not the obvious aim of the translators throughout to provide as faithful a version as the demands of natural, rhythmical, and idiomatic English allow. These demands perhaps justify 'saiven' (p. 88) for 'fyw' (1, p. 246), or 'the hale wordl' (p. 109) for 'de halve Welt' (2, p. 68), the addition of the information that the fish came swimming up when the man called out to it (p. 48 = 1, p. 122), or the rather untypical omission of repetition in 'ashet o stew' (p. 85) for 'groote, groote Schöttel . . . mit Swartsuhr' (1, p. 242). Certainly they justify the tendency we find throughout to change sentence boundaries, to reshuffle clauses occasionally, and to make the odd very reticent modification for the sake of vividness or clarity, as when a flunkey suddenly materializes in 'The Griffin' ('and told the flunkey he had the apples' (p. 198) = 'un lot se amelde, er hob Öpfel' (2, p. 297)), the corpse is, not implausibly, put into a coffin in 'The Three Snake-Leaves' (p. 206 = 1, p. 110), presumably to avoid the repetition of 'it' in the following sentence, and indirect is occasionally converted into direct speech, although the opposite can also happen. The impression of spontaneity is enhanced by a liberal use of idioms, but clearly not always exactly where they occur in the original, while names, and features of material culture are happily adapted rather than translated, a process which is a matter of course in oral tradition and so can hardly offend here. Thus Marleenken (1, p. 241) becomes Mary-Jeannie (p. 84), the Weser (2, p. 65) the Gaudie watter (p. 107), the Göckerliberg (2, p. 61) Croaghpatrick (p. 392), and 'Ofenbank' (2, p. 64) 'hob' (p. 394). Rather more surprising is that in the non-dialect story 'Thickasthumb' the hero, on finding himself between the jaws of a cow, compares them to a washing-machine (p. 326), where the German has 'Walkmühle' (1, p. 210). The translation might be considered not inappropriate if one bears in mind that the Märchen, where it has survived in oral tradition,

will quite happily accommodate such technological paraphernalia as motor cars and telephones. On the other hand it is doubtful whether the Grimms for their part would have admitted such an intrusion.[3] In any case, one might argue that, if 'Walkmühle' is to be updated, then der wilde Jäger, who is mentioned a few lines before, might be transmogrified from the Wild Huntsman into some contemporary fantasy figure from comic strip or television.

On moving from the dialect renderings to those in standard English one is, inevitably perhaps, let down with a slight bump, though the faint sense of disorientation or disenchantment is certainly not due to any inferiority in the translation as such, or because of an uncharacteristic vagary such as that just mentioned. An incurable romantic might claim that the salt of the everyday colloquial English which Dr Luke chooses as his medium is losing its savour, but it might be safer to point out that dialect has the enormous advantage of being the natural vehicle for what are essentially oral traditions. Moreover, by the time the German non-dialect stories had reached the seventh edition of 1857, they had been removed from their oral origins by a steady process of smoothing and polishing. The result is a rather stylized idiom which moves between a sedate colloquial tone of voice on the one hand and what strikes us today as a slightly archaic literary style on the other. Not surprisingly, it is the former that is most easily captured in a careful conversational English whose utmost concession to vulgarity is the odd 'You must be joking' or 'He laughed his head off'. Take a couple of sentences from the beginning of 'Clever Elsie':

'Finally a young fellow from another part of the country came along; his name was Jack and he asked for her hand in marriage, but he made it a condition that Clever Elsie really was clever. "Oh," said her father, "she's as sharp as a needle and thread." "Bless you," said her mother, "she can see the wind blowing up the alley and hear flies clearing their throats."' (p. 374)

And compare this — particularly the nicely modulated last phrase — with, say, Arthur Rackham's version, which he christened 'Clever Elsa':

'At last a suitor, named Hans, came from a distance. He made an offer for her on condition that she really was as clever as she was said to be.
"Oh!" said her Father, "she is a long-headed lass."
And her Mother said: "She can see the wind blowing in the street, and hear the flies coughing."'[4]

In the German of the Märchen proper we frequently find the more literary tone referred to above, even in dialogue. Sometimes this is brought out in Dr Luke's translations, as when 'meine Liebe ist so groß, daß ich der Gefahr nicht achte' (1, p. 109) becomes 'but my love is so great that I care not for this danger' (p. 205).

But the stylistic equivalence is seldom sustained. Thus, later on in the same story '"Nun laß uns heimkehren und sagen, er sei unterwegs gestorben. Ich will dich schon bei meinem Vater so herausstreichen und rühmen, daß er mich mit dir vermählt"' (1, p. 111) becomes: '"Now let's go home, and we'll say he died at sea. You can leave it to me to keep singing your praises to my father till he marries me to you"' (p. 207). At worst the translator's obvious determination to avoid the 'irremediably archaic and literary' English of his predecessors can lead dangerously close to banality, as when, in 'Little Redcape', 'sie ist krank und schwach und wird sich daran laben' (1, p. 157) becomes 'she's sick and weak and she'll enjoy them very much' (p. 63), or 'und ist so lustig haußen in dem Wald' (1, p. 158) is translated as 'and yet it's such fun out here in the wood' (p. 64). Previous and subsequent references in this story are to 'forest' rather than 'wood', incidentally, and one might contend that the latter speech reflects the condescending air of the wolf addressing the child. But is not, say, 'Now the dragon was of course the Devil' (p. 334) unnecessarily patronizing for 'der Drache war aber niemand als der Teufel' (2, p. 185)?

But all in all the formula works, sometimes with unassuming virtuosity, as in 'Jorinda and Joringle' (though one might quarrel with the latter name as a rendering of 'Joringel'). This Kunstmärchen, which was culled by the Grimms from Jung-Stilling's autobiography, may have provided Novalis with inspiration for the Blaue Blume in Heinrich von Ofterdingen. Whether or not this is so, it is full of foreshadowings of Romanticism, and is notoriously difficult to translate. Dr Luke's response is a restrained and disciplined one, and he steers a confident course between the Scylla of the pseudo-poetical and the Charybdis of the commonplace. Jungfrau is generally 'girl', Kammer and Saal are simply 'room', and 'die Turteltaube sang kläglich auf den alten Maibuchen' (1, p. 364) becomes, with careful avoidance of the generic singular, 'the turtle-doves sang plaintively in the old beech trees' (p. 353). (Edgar Taylor has 'tall birches' here, incidentally.)[5]

As will be clear from the titles already quoted, the translators do not allow themselves to be bound by tradition here any more than elsewhere. Admittedly, 'Hansel and Gretel' is so entrenched that any attempt to displace it would have been inappropriate. The same goes for Rapunzel as a title and name, though surely the plant is lamb's lettuce rather than the rampion suggested in the notes. Elsewhere, however, innovations are not eschewed where they are considered necessary: 'Frau Holle' becomes 'Mother Snowbed', and 'Aschenputtel' 'Ashiepattle', after a Scots word which according to Wright means 'a dirty child, that lounges about the hearth',[6] while 'Das Meerhäschen', which we are told Ralph Manheim unaccountably translates as 'The Mongoose',[7] becomes, rather more literally, 'The Sea-Rabbit', though we are also told in the notes that the real

meaning is probably 'guinea-pig'.

The latter example reminds one that 'Meerkatze' (2, p. 187) is translated as 'baboon' (p. 336) rather than as the more accurate but contextually less appropriate 'guenon' or 'long-tailed monkey'. One might be more inclined to quibble about 'surrounded by' (p. 184) for 'standen . . . vor' (2, p. 385), 'bought themselves fine clothes' (p. 335) for 'ließen sich Herrenkleider machen' (2, p. 185), 'nor to his father' (p. 338) for 'nicht mehr seinem Vater', (2, p. 46), or 'the tree' (p. 341) for 'einem Baum' (2, p. 49), and so on. But such inaccuracies, some of which, it might be argued, are justified by the context, vanish into insignificance when one considers the advantages of an up-to-date and adult edition which is not only varied, lively, and thoroughly readable, but also scholarly, authentic, and informative.

1. Brian Alderson, 'Boy-Stew and Red-Hot Slippers', The Times, 6 May 1978, p. 6.
2. The edition of this text that I refer to in what follows is Brüder Grimm, Kinder- und Hausmärchen, seventh edition (1857); edited by Heinz Rölleke (3 volumes, Stuttgart, Reclam, 1980).
3. See Hermann Bausinger, Formen der 'Volkspoesie', second edition (Berlin, Erich Schmidt, 1980), p. 177.
4. Arthur Rackham, Grimm's Fairy Tales (sic)(London, Heinemann, no date), p. 86.
5. Grimms' Fairy Tales (1823) (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972), p. 49. For a discussion of translations of this story in particular, see Alderson, loc. cit.
6. The English Dialect Dictionary, edited by Joseph Wright (1898-1905) (London, Oxford University Press, 1970), 1, 80.
7. See Grimms' Tales for Young and Old: The complete stories, translated by Ralph Manheim (London, Gollancz, 1968, reprinted 1978), pp. 581-84.

nevertheless find plenty of incidental commentary on the poems which is ... and persuasive.

N F Blake

FEARN, Jacqueline, *Discovering Heraldry*, Princes Risborough, Shire Publications, 1980, 96pp., illus., £1.15

Cultural traditions take a variety of forms in different social classes as well as regions and localities. One important facet of them with regard to the upper classes and corporate bodies is expressed in heraldry. Jacqueline Fearn explains how heraldry originated in the need for identification of fully armoured men in battle or tournament in the Middle Ages and the reasons for its evolution as a means of denoting inheritance, family history and public recognition of service. She introduces the various concepts and terms gradually so that confusion is avoided, while at all times retaining the reader's interest. As well as the actual achievement of arms, other related topics are examined including badges and flags while heraldry in other countries, royal heraldry, and heralds and evidence (e.g. church furnishings) are dealt with. Finally, guidance is given on identifying a coat of arms. A very complete index enables the reader to refresh his memory on terminology as he proceeds. This is a clear and thorough introduction to the subject and folklorists will find much here to interest them.

G A Dyer

DUNNING, T P, *Piers Plowman: An Interpretation of the A Text*, 2nd edn., revised by T P Dolan, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, 178pp., £12.50

This book was originally published in 1937 and marked an important advance in *Piers Plowman* studies since it concentrated on the A text of the poem as a separate literary work. It tried to present a critical appreciation of the poem, particularly against the background of religious ideas. It broke the dominance of the B text and reminded scholars that each version had to be considered independently. It has remained an important book because no other critic has discussed the A text in detail, though separate editions have been published. Naturally *Piers Plowman* scholarship has advanced on many fronts since 1937, though the views expressed by Father Dunning are by no means outdated. The book was rather hastily produced in 1937 and now Mr Dolan has corrected and revised it, though the basis of the book is unchanged. The revision has been done with care and tact. It remains a book that all who are interested in this poem should read.

B 4

N F Blake

CLUBLEY, Christine and Gary SARGEANT, *Sketches of Driffield*, Driffield, The Hutton Press, 1980, 40pp., illus.

In recent years there have been a number of well-written locally produced booklets and pamphlets on towns and villages throughout Britain and *Sketches of Driffield* adds an attractive new dimension to these publications. It aims "neither to be a complete history of Driffield, nor a complete guide to the capital of the wolds" but is a selection of "those buildings of architectural and historical interest which the resident and visitor to the town would recognise and admire." The informative text by Christine Clubley and the excellent drawings by Gary Sergeant ably

complement each other so that the flavour of this pleasant East Riding market town comes across effortlessly. There is just the right amount of information, combining architectural and historical detail. It comes as a surprise to realise that there are only two listed buildings in Driffield but perhaps this booklet will stimulate local residents and visitors to the town to press for the listing of others and it is encouraging to note the designation of a conservation area to include the canal. The addition of an outline map showing the buildings described on one of the endpapers would make a second edition of *Sketches of Driffield* even better.

G A Dyer

NEHLS, Dietrich (ed.), *Studies in Language Acquisition*, Heidelberg, Julius Groos Verlag, 1980, 110pp., DM.20

This is an extremely useful collection of essays on the general theme of second language learning, with special reference to problems of learning German as a second language. The first essay explores the neurophysiological implications of different approaches to language teaching, and concludes that different methods do in fact give rise to the use of different neural pathways on the part of the student. The next discusses the idea of "language learning aptitude", but in the end suggests that motivation and readiness to learn are far more important for success in foreign language learning than any supposed innate factors.

The third and fourth papers explore the cognitive processes involved in second language learning as opposed to first language acquisition, and find that while "general" language learning processes do exist, there are other processes which are specific to one or the other situation; and some empirical work is offered as evidence for this.

The rest of the papers deal with specific surveys and case histories on a Norwegian child's learning of English, acquisition of German plurals in native children and non-native adults, and a native child's acquisition of question words in German. This is a volume which anyone concerned with applied linguistics and language teaching will find valuable.

S Lander

SAGER, Juan C, David DUNGWORTH and Peter F McDONALD, *English Special Languages: Principles and Practice in Science and Technology*, Wiesbaden, David Dungworth, Oscar Brandstetter Verlag KG, 1980, xxiii, 368pp., DM.45

The special language of medicine and its attendant disciplines is said to comprise approximately 500,000 terms, a medical student has an active command of some 6,000 to 8,000 of these, while the medical vocabulary used by the man in the street runs to some 500 items. The number of technical terms employed in some disciplines has trebled over a small number of years. Chemistry has a terminology of more than 100,000 items, to which in the commercial and industrial fields alone it adds something like a hundred designations every month. These figures refer to German, but the picture cannot be very different in English.

Although English is ceasing to be a prescribed language in many parts of the world and is becoming rather a language of convenience with a more limited range of uses, it is at the same time becoming a model for the development of other languages, and Sager thus sees it as having a special responsibility to develop rules and provide a coherent description of its system. Elaborating their theories on the

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basis of the many studies listed in the comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography, the authors go a long way towards fulfilling this responsibility for the special languages of English, thus complementing already existing descriptions of other languages, notably German, Czech and Russian.

In the first part of the book (Chapters 1-6) the authors develop a general theory of English special languages within the framework of communication studies. Special languages are seen as intersecting subsystems which overlap general language, but to the extent that they dispense with general-language elements they shade off into artificial language. At the same time, as subsystems of natural languages they must be distinguished from dialect and sociolect, which are the two other types of sub-language. These are in the first instance acquired unconsciously, whereas special languages are on the whole learnt formally by people who already have a command of at least one dialect and a sociolect. While dialects are most strongly characterised by phonological features, and sociolects by syntagmatic features and some lexical items, special languages are chiefly conspicuous by their lexical items and semantic features. However, the fact is generally overlooked that special languages are characterised by specific text types (Chapters 6 and 7), syntactic features (Chapter 8) and phonemic and graphemic features (Chapter 10) as well as favourite methods of word-formation and word-creation (Chapter 9).

The later part of the book, which is rounded off with chapters on efficiency of expression and standardisation, is particularly concerned with common features of the technolects, and closely linked as it is with the more theoretical early part, it will provide a firm foundation for future descriptive, prescriptive and contrastive studies of individual special languages. In addition it would, one feels, be particularly fruitful to explore further the relationship between special languages and general language. General language, which in the first place provides the basis for special languages, is in turn being increasingly subjected to influences from them, and various intermediate systems (e.g. the language of workshop, salesroom, popular science) are constantly being developed. The fact remains, however, that the special languages of science, technology, finance, politics and administration are becoming increasingly autonomous. Thus the need for mediation will grow as experts are hindered from communicating with their colleagues in other fields and the man in the street is prevented from influencing those who shape his environment. In providing such a coherent framework for the study of special languages this important book opens up possibilities for removing impediments to communication.

J B Smith

The Third Supplement to Original Parish Registers in Record Offices and Libraries, Local Population Studies in association with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, obtainable from Tawney House, Matlock, Derbyshire, 1980, 92pp., £3.75

The appearance of a third supplement to *Original Parish Registers in Record Offices and Libraries* illustrates the rapid rate at which parish registers are now being deposited in record repositories following the Parochial Registers and Records Measure which came into force in January 1979. As with the original volume and first two supplements reviewed in earlier issues of *Lore and Language*, this new supplement will be a great boon to researchers in the fields of demography, local history and genealogy.

G A Dyer

COOK, Bridget M, and Geraldine SCOTT, *The Book of Bobbin Lace Stitches*, 526 photos, 305 diagrams, 264 prickings, 267pp., £8.95
KNIGHT, Pauline, *The Technique of Filet Lace*, 144pp., 131 photos, 43 diagrams, £6.95
LOVESEY, Nenia, *The Technique of Needlepoint Lace*, 144pp., 58 photos, 82 diagrams, £7.50
STILLWELL, Alexandra, *The Technique of Teneriffe Lace*, 144pp., 120 photos, 4 colour plates, 115 diagrams, £6.95
All published in London by B T Batsford, 1980

These books are the latest additions to the series published by Batsford on all aspects of lacemaking. It may seem that nine books (with, I hope, more to come) is an excessive number to devote to one subject, but this simply reflects the variety and extent of a fascinating craft. During the past decade the interest in lacemaking has revived to such an extent that from its being in danger of total collapse there are now thousands of people in this country making and studying lace.

Until recently lacemakers relied on a very few standard prewar texts. Whilst these still retain their value, especially for the advanced worker, it is very good to have books written in the modern style which provide both an introduction for the novice and a means of acquiring and developing techniques for those with some experience of the craft. It remains true that there is no substitute for a good teacher, but those who combine teaching ability with high technical standards are still rather few and far between, so good clear books on the subject are most welcome.

The Batsford books are valuable additions to the library of the serious lacemaker. *The Book of Bobbin Lace Stitches* is something of a new departure in that it is a dictionary of over 260 stitches and variations, including grounds, fillings and decorative features, which acts as a reference source for those working existing patterns and suggests stitches for those who wish to design their own work. Each stitch is photographed in close-up and at normal size, prickings are given on a grid background with pin positions (allowing for scaling up or down by using graph paper with a different grid size) and there are clear working instructions and line diagrams of thread positions. My only criticism is with the index. Many of these stitches have alternative names, and so cross-references are essential. I realise that this would involve considerable research: perhaps this could be considered for the second edition.

The other three books, on the techniques of Teneriffe, needlecraft and filet lace, provide brief histories and instructions for work. Preparation, tools, and working methods are discussed in detail. The illustrations are plentiful and of good quality, and the diagrams are clear, adding greatly to the value of the text. Patterns and suggestions for further work are given, and all the books have a bibliography and a list of suppliers.

In conclusion, although these books cannot provide all the answers for lacemakers they are an excellent investment which will help them to extend their knowledge of this absorbing craft.

S Frank

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the body of the dictionary and excessive terseness in the front-matter: some of the explanatory material needs considerable linguistic knowledge (or at least guided practice) to be of help to the user.

Complete perfection is unattainable in lexicography. Yet we can all learn a lot from Wahrig's Brockhaus dictionary.

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER R. R. K. HARTMANN

THE COMPACT DICTIONARY OF EXACT SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. Vol. 1 ENGLISH-GERMAN. By A. Kučera. Wiesbaden, Oscar Brandstetter Verlag KG, 1980. xix + 571 pp. 3 87097 088 X. DM55.

A dictionary which embraces over eighty disciplines will tempt the more leisured reader to muse on the forces which have formed and continue to mould the terminology used by experts in such diverse fields as nucleonics and leather, plasma physics and plumbing. While chemistry still has a predilection for Latin and Greek and the influence of German is still to be felt in geology and mineralogy, other sciences and technologies appear to draw rather on native resources, though in different ways. The inspiration for many of the terms used in the textile industry is no doubt to be sought in dialect and slang (licker-in, reach-me-downs, swanboy, twitty), the ecologist's ouch-ouch disease rather stands out against such down-to-earth designations as fish test, food-web, garden city, and greenhouse effect, while the acoustician apparently must needs resort to the onomatopoeia of gimp and ping, woofer and tweeter. It is somehow reassuring that his German counterpart says Hochtonlautsprecher for the last of these, and indeed one could speculate endlessly on the relative virtues of Garchey sink and Müllschlucker, botulism and Wurstvergiftung, walkie-lookie and Handkamera, library and Filmothek, glulam and Preßschichtholz, weatherometer and Weatherometer.

However, the practical linguist will be more concerned with the effectiveness of the dictionary as a tool for translating, and he will not be disappointed. The compiler has wherever possible used cross-reference to relate networks of concepts. Headwords are contextualized by means of 100 subject labels, and there are many references to DIN standards. Less well-known terms are provided with short definitions, and an asterisk against a headword means that further information can be found in Chambers Dictionary of Science and Technology. New terms such as draughtsperson and joule are included, along with more general and colloquial expressions such as brain drain, jet lag, job hopper, and lollipop man. Abbreviated terms are incorporated in the text, while compound adjectives and terminologized phrases are frequently presented as such.

The technolects are best served by a nominal style, and this state of affairs is reflected in Kučera's tendency to give nouns rather than related verbs. Thus echo, feed, trip, and so on, occur only as nouns, and we find such forms as housing and seizing-up, but

not the verbs from which they are derived. Presumably the user will associate justify, which does not occur, with justification, which does. But destruct deserves a place because it is not synonymous with destroy, and a case could be made for including other back-formations such as chemisorb and freeze-dry. Further economies have been achieved by placing homonyms, and even homographs, under the same headword. Thus for instance tab ('tabellieren', 'Hilfsruder', etc.) and lead ('Leitung', 'Blei', etc.). Uneconomical on the other hand, though easy on the eye, is the tendency to repeat the second elements of polysemic compounds in consecutive entries, as in the case of log-book and vapour lock.

There is slight inconsistency in the presentation of irregular and foreign plurals. Thus we find sheaves and turfs/turves, but no plurals are given for leaf, knife, scarf and wharf. Two plurals are given for tympanum, none for medium and speculum. Indexes and indices are presented as though they were free variants. Hyphenation is also slightly capricious. Such pairs as restore and re-store are distinguished, but why should re-spray be hyphened when retan is not?

A few cross-references do not work. Laryngophone and throat microphone refer to each other but are not glossed, and where is the skot referred to under nox, and the scrotch mentioned under go-devil?

The book is pleasingly and clearly printed on yellow paper, the format is handy, and the abbreviations used to elucidate the text are conveniently printed on a book-mark attached to the spine. The bibliography and the appendices on German and English standards help to make this an excellent aid for the technical translator. The second, German-English, volume will be eagerly awaited.

UNIVERSITY OF BATH J. B. SMITH

THE CLASSICAL CENTRE: GOETHE AND WEIMAR 1775-1832. By T. J. Reed. (Literary History of Germany 5.) London, Croom Helm, 1980. 271 pp. O 85664 356 4. £14.95. (New York, Barnes and Noble, O 06 495825 6.)

Now that Willoughby's Classical Age is no longer easily available, anyone teaching eighteenth-century 'history of literature' to undergraduates will welcome — albeit with reservations — Mr Reed's book. The author provides the student with an indispensable framework by re-telling a familiar story: how Goethe and Schiller, 'against all the social odds', created 'native masterpieces' and established general aesthetic criteria — two fundamental ingredients of any classicism.

Mr Reed writes clearly and boldly. The teacher will value his treatment of many a misleading cliché: he insists on the continuities obscured by cut-and-dried periodization (pp. 31 and 34); rejects the notion that Weimar aesthetics implied art-for-art's sake (p. 92), or that Goethe and Schiller were fundamentally at odds (p. 98); and is

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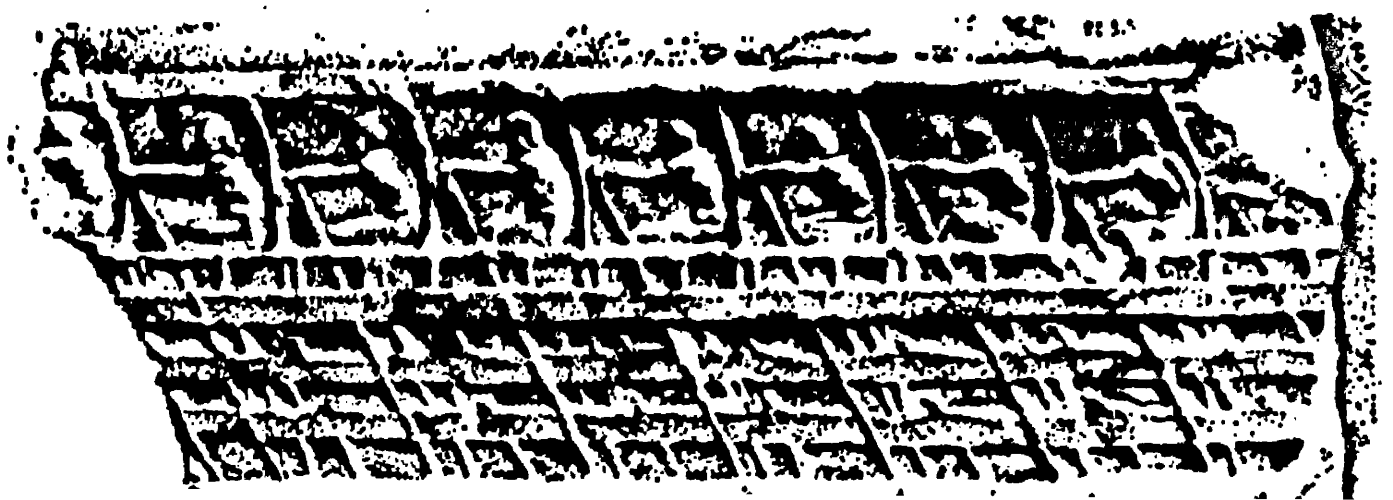

much time is spent denouncing the shallowness of the commercial cinema, Spanish and Hollywood, the downright silly journalism it spawned — 'Como besan los ases de la pantalla' — and setting this off against the more serious film-making and film-thinking of those such as went to the Cineclub Español. Since writers who were meaningfully to reflect cinematic aspects in their work belonged to the second category anyway, it does seem that the controversy, if not spurious, is made too much of here. Little is derived from knowing Unamuno dismissed the cinema out of hand, from the page-long denunciation of L'Age d'Or by the Gaceta de Tenerife, still less from The Times account of Dean Martin's flamboyant fourth wedding in 1973. In Chapter four, 'Spanish Poets', the book's longest, Professor Morris turns as promised to the 'translation' of cinematic techniques into literature, but, we note, with a surprising restriction thereafter followed quite faithfully: his concern is only with pieces which refer directly to the cinema or introduce film-stars as personae. This leads to a further lambasting of lesser lights, and, more seriously, to an incredibly dim view of some of poetry's stars. Sixteen pages on three of the latter produce: 'Intriguing as are the poems of Torre, Aleixandre and Salinas devoted to the cinema, they tell us little about the poets other than that they were fascinated by it and chose to evoke that fascination in poetry'. But Aleixandre's 'Cinemática' and Salinas's 'Cinematógrafo', despite their titles, hardly constitute the devotion or debt either owed the cinema. In Salinas's case material abounds that shows his keen interest in motion and perspective, as anyone reading 'Entrada en Sevilla', Narrativa completa, will find. Indeed, his interest probably goes deeper than that of Alberti, Lorca, and Cernuda, to whom prominence is given in Chapters five and six. Here, on familiar ground, Professor Morris has much to say that is interesting, especially about Yo era un tonto, though there is a feeling that much is already familiar to us, thanks to his own works and others'. The seventh and last chapter, again comprehensively entitled 'Spanish Novelists', has sixteen of its twenty-three pages devoted to Francisco Ayala and Benjamín Jarnés, for the first is the author of a novel whose protagonist goes to the cinema, and the second mixes in Charlie Chaplin with El alcalde de Zalamea. By the end we have a more precise understanding of Professor Morris's title than we could have expected at the outset, but, as to the translation of cinematic techniques into literature, we are still in darkness.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES, ABERYSTWYTH ROBERT G. HAVARD

COLLINS GERMAN-ENGLISH ENGLISH-GERMAN DICTIONARY. By Peter Terrell, Veronika Calderwood-Schnorr, Wendy V. A. Morris, and Roland Breitsprecher. London and Glasgow, Collins, 1980. xvii + 790 pp. 0 00 433480 9. £9.95. (With thumb index 0 00 433481 7. £11.50.)

A dictionary is like a map, we are told in the Preface, and the terrain this particular work aims to represent is 'the underlying central core of English and German', 'the vocabulary of the educated layman'. The main emphasis is on contemporary usage, older and more technical expressions being included only to the extent that they form a part of such usage. Considerable attention has been paid to idioms, and to phrases that illustrate structural correspondences between the two languages. Indicators and collocators mark out different areas of meaning and usage, and a system of style labels reminiscent of that used in the Duden Stilwörterbuch provides information on the register of headwords and on the appropriateness of translations to specific contexts. Here liter ('literary') needs to be carefully distinguished from lit ('literal') and Liter ('pertaining to literature'). Moreover, the presence or absence of a comma between style labels appears to be crucial: for instance (old, liter) means that a term is old or literary, whereas (dated inf) means that it is dated and informal.

The phonetic transcriptions of German follow recent editions of Duden in recommending the half-open sound of long ä and nasalized vowels in Parfum and Fonds on the one hand, but Bon and Bonbon with [-ɔŋ], a vocalic realization of /r/ and syllabic /n/ in, say, versklaven on the other. As for the transcriptions of English, they are generally modelled on the fourteenth edition of Daniel Jones's English Pronouncing Dictionary, revised by A. C. Gimson, and thus make a welcome distinction between the qualities of long and short vowels where appropriate. However, although the Collins reflects a firmly established trend in avoiding a long vowel in cloth, cross, off, it often fights shy of following Gimson where he gives pride of place to schwa in unaccented syllables. Take for instance the final syllable of scarlet, or the penultimate of capacity. On the other hand, the neutral vowel in the last syllable of cameramen, for instance, is scarcely typical, one would have thought.

The German user is given no help with the stressing of compounds, town hall versus town house for instance, whereas the English student is helped to distinguish between the contrasting accentual patterns of pairs such as steinreich ('stinking rich') and steinreich ('stony'). All in all, however, the English student comes off the worse if he is looking for guidance with pronunciation. Some Fremdwörter are provided with transcriptions (four each in the case of Fleurop and Pyjama), but more help would have been desirable with Karacho, negieren, Neuguinea, Setter, and their like, and with such native stumbling-blocks as nächst and Frauchen. Phonetics are given for unstressed long vowels, we are told. Not so in Heirat, Mehrwert, Schülerlotse, zusammenschustern, and many others. And is the first vowel of Vorteil really long?

Spelling is sometimes inconsistent. Thus the headwords uncoordinated, top-fermented, and whiz(z)-kid (represented with level stress!) become 'unco-ordinated', 'top fermented', and 'whizz kid' under ataktisch, obergärig, and Senkrechtstarter respectively. Bürgerinitiative is 'citizen's initiative', and Attila is 'Atilla' as well as 'Attila der Hunnenkönig'. Neither of these glosses appears as a headword, but Etzel, translated 'Attila the Hun', does.

This is mere flotsam, it might be argued, but it turns out to be the tip of an iceberg, for if we look farther we find that there is considerable lack of coordination (the compilers call it 'slotting-together') between the two halves of the dictionary, and to some extent within the individual parts. The student who has looked up activity holiday, biodynamisch, Leitfossil, or Stallmagd and hopefully (in both senses) wishes to cross-check in the opposite section, will be disappointed, since Aktivurlaub, biodynamic, index fossil, and stable maid are not to be found there. Trick cyclist (fig inf) is 'Püschater' (hum), shrink (sl) is 'Pyschater' (inf), head shrinker (sl: psychiatrist) is 'Seelenmasseur' (inf). None of these translations appears as a headword in the German-English section, though we do find Seelenmassage (hum inf), 'gentle persuasion'. The headwords Ordinarius and Plättchen do not appear as glosses against professor and microchip respectively. Homophon occurs as an adjective but not as a noun, homophone is to be found, but homophonous is not. Flyover is 'Überführung', butter-fingers is 'Schussel', but not vice versa, though fangunsicher is glossed 'butter-fingered'. To get one's finger out (sl) is 'Nägel mit Köpfen machen' (sl). Nägel mit Köpfen machen (inf) is, however, 'to do the job properly', while it is only under lahmarschig that we eventually discover 'get your finger out!' And so on and so forth.

In drawing attention to a weakness I have, however, illustrated one of the strengths of the dictionary: it translates and labels a host of idiomatic expressions and whole sentences whose iridescent meanings are difficult to capture out of context. Never again will I see my own country is, for instance, provided with a literary and a neutral translation. Although one could argue that some of the renderings are slightly off the mark, they never force the target language into unnatural shapes. Where Langenscheidt, for example, has the dubious '(like) a pike in a fish-pond' for [er ist] (wie) ein Hecht im Karpfenteich, Collins has 'he certainly shakes people up'. Here the translation is unavoidably less colourful than the original, and the same applies to 'was willst du trinken?' for what's your poison? (inf). In such cases the good student will read the style labels, or their absence, aright, and take steps to provide his translation with the appropriate stylistic markers in other ways. In glossing culture-specific items Collins has been equally wary of stretching the target languages beyond their limits. Items such as Eisheiligen [sic] and Rahmengesetz, cooling-off period and gazump (though not Pumpernickel and beefeater) are explained in italics, and difficult terms such as Bimmelbahn and Zechprellerei are accorded the same treatment.

Of course there are omissions and renderings one could quibble at. One could hardly expect to find fremdzünden or helipad, but what about such commonplaces as flat (of batteries) or stiff (of muscles)? We have to look under Muskelkater to find the latter. My own list further includes bierernst, Geflügelschere, Naβzelle and Stoβkeil, draw on (in the sense of 'entice'), newspeak, nonce-word, and tooth-comb, as well as a number of common back-formations such as fire-watch and housekeep. Entries with which one might quarrel are Echse (merely 'lizard'), armchair philosopher ('Stubengelehrte(r)'), and real ale ('Ale'). Webster's push boat might have been preferable to 'tug(boat) which pushes' for Schubschiff, and 'mit Eis' alone is scarcely adequate for à la mode. 'Formal aesthetic' is perhaps possible for formal-ästhetisch, but 'politico-educational' for bildungspolitisch, 'literary historical' for literarhistorisch, and 'political-economic' for wirtschaftspolitisch are enough to cause horripilation (another omission, incidentally). Students will certainly need to be warned here.

In the German-English section there is a fair amount of grammatical information. Principal parts are given for anomalous verbs such as notlanden, verbs whose past participles are formed without ge- are asterisked. The genitive singular and plural endings of nouns are generally given, though not for compounds such as Gebiβabdruck. We are informed that Liter and Meter vary in gender, but not that the latter is officially neuter (except in Switzerland). As for the rule given in the last paragraph of 3.8 in the Introduction, it needs to be applied with caution, otherwise we end up with unusual forms such as 'lady hobo' for Landstreicherin.

In the English-German section phrasal verbs (that is, phrasal and prepositional verbs) are separated from the main entries and marked with a diamond. This is an excellent feature, as is the tendency to give the sentence-adverb meanings of sensibly, wisely etc., though remarkably has escaped this treatment. Perhaps lexicographers of the future will also find ways of providing more information about the use of haben and sein as auxiliaries with different types of verb, about the attributive use of normally predicative adjectives (he is an ill man), and about the count use of normally non-count nouns (researches), as well as of distinguishing between such categories as stative and dynamic. In the meantime I shall browse on in Collins, and recommend it with the appropriate qualifications.

UNIVERSITY OF BATH J. B. SMITH

GALDÓS AND THE ART OF THE EUROPEAN NOVEL: 1867-1887. By Stephen Gilman. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1981. x + 413 pp. O 691 06456 3. £21.20.

Articles published between 1949 and 1979, albeit drastically revised, form the basis of this book; it was not planned as a whole, then, but the material is well integrated nevertheless. Part one (chapters I-IV) studies La Fontana de Oro against the contemporary historical background and in the context of Galdós's journalistic experience and the historical awareness which 'their avid and habitual reading of newspapers' (p. 28) had communicated to his prospective public. Next we see the 'evolutionary advance' (p. 82) from La Fontana through the early 'episodios nacionales' to Doña Perfecta, with its 'deep sociological comprehension of the implacable conflict of inherited roles with continuing history' (p. 83), as opposed to the simplistic struggle between youth and age, progress and reaction, good and evil, shown in La Fontana. Part two (chapters V-VII) takes us from La desheredada, via Lo prohibido, to Fortunata y Jacinta which is studied in detail in Part three (chapters VIII-XII). In Part three Gilman considers the relationship between society and characters who, like Fortunata, 'inhabit it but are immune to its debasement' (p. 245); the importance of the spoken language in the novel; the themes of birth and parenthood and Galdós's use of classical myths of genesis and metamorphosis, and the novel's characterization. Gilman's comparison of Fortunata with Quixote or the protagonists of epic and romance may not command universal acceptance, but she is undoubtedly a creation of importance, whose 'temporal authenticity (that slow passage of experience, which is the corollary of her authenticity as a person) illustrates by contrast the temporal haste and triviality both of the city as a whole and of its individual citizens' (p. 375). The 'authenticity' of the nineteenth-century novel, its 'experiential' quality which blurs 'the frontier between the real and the fictional' (p. 395) is a central idea in this book; another is the importance of appreciating Galdós's novels in the context of his earlier works and of the writings of other European novelists (such as Cervantes, Dickens, Balzac, Zola, Clarín) which his readers would probably know. Fortunata y Jacinta is 'contingent upon Galdós's critical dissatisfaction . . . with La desheredada and . . . Lo prohibido' as well as upon his 'intimate conversation with La Regenta and Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes' (p. 187); La desheredada is a reply to L'Assommoir. There is more to this 'dialogue' between authors and novels than the conventional concept of sources and influences: Galdós saw Zola's Naturalism, for instance, as 'not an end in itself or a fad to be copied but a new possibility of comprehension' (p. 94).

This generally stimulating and enlightening book suffers from a breathless and gushing style: the reader is constantly distracted by asides, interjections, personal reminiscences, and unnecessary comparisons. Gilman also seems too keen to prove his democratic

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bona fides and his respect for fashionable demands for 'relevance' thus we learn that Galdós was a 'card-carrying liberal' (p. 9 — Balzac, incidentally, was 'a charter member of the Scott and Cooper fan clubs' (p. 195)), and there are references to James Baldwin, Franco, Greek colonels, Khrushchev, Allende and the CIA, and those 'who have denounced a Secretary of State or of Defense as a war criminal at a cocktail party instead of from behind bars' (p. 141). However, a defence of 'Castro' against 'myopic' and 'past-oriented' historians turns out to be on behalf of Américo, not Fidel (p. 9). The citation of French and Spanish authors is chaotic, sometimes in the original, sometimes in translation, sometimes in both. There is no bibliography, the index is unsatisfactory, and I have never read a book with so many errors or misprints — mostly in the footnotes and involving titles and quotations in French. However, the reader who keeps going despite all this will find the effort worth his while.

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Quinquereme, 6, 2, July 1983

HARRAP'S CONCISE GERMAN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Edited by Robin Sawers. London, Harrap, 1982. xx + 499 + 627 pp. O 245 53869 O. £6.95

Harrap's Concise has appeared in the wake of Collins German Dictionary, and at three pounds cheaper and with its handier, though still chubby, format, it might appear to be a more tempting proposition. After all, it claims to give full grammatical information and pronunciation, and to concentrate on contemporary language, including the more specialized registers. Here it probably does have a slight edge over the Collins, though at the cost of shedding 'obscure or literary' usage. Thus although we do not find, say, Ansinnen, Geheimrat, or Ingrimm (nor for that matter brash, brains trust, ivy, or shaver), we do have the benefit of ausfugen, das Partikel, Pfefferfresser, Quetschfalte, and Schandeckel, as well as the Ingredienzien which Collins more surprisingly lacks. Indeed, the last example is symptomatic, since it is in the field of gastronomy that the Harrap's really excels. Tables groan and mouths water as calves' brains and braised beef jostle with Schillerlocken and Schlackwurst, Krapfen and Kutteln. Such expressions are lovingly translated or explained, but the same standard is not always maintained: to bend the rules is 'ein Auge zudrücken', ausgeflippt is merely 'on drugs', der Mittlere Osten is 'the Middle East', mit den Ohren schlackern is given a purely literal rendering.

Generally, however, more than sufficient attention is paid to variations in usage. We learn that Spagat machen is 'to do a split' in American English, that brass (= 'Pinke') is North British, that Austrians would have Queue a masculine, Sago and Sakko neuters

(the latter with end stress), and Quitte pronounced with a k at the beginning. Much of this information on the German side no doubt comes from the Duden Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, but if the smaller dictionary is going to allow itself such luxuries, it ought at least to get things right. Is Kren really restricted to South German, Kabuff to North German, or braid (for flechten) to American English? Is bough, though not bevy or billow, truly archaic or literary? Of course, objectivity is virtually impossible in such instances. Take bra, which is netural for Collins but colloquial for Harrap's, at least in the German-English section, while brassiere (sic) is the neutral form for Harrap's, whereas for Collins it is, correctly spelt, dated or formal.

A ragbag of typographic and other anomalies might include rac(c)oon versus racoon; two different spellings of Shanks's, neither of them correct; häufchen (sic); Keuchhust (sic); the extremely confusing displacement of the first two lines of the entry for Hecht; the pointless division, by a vertical stroke, of kraulen 'to crawl'; the unexplained abbreviation Crust:; eccentric transcriptions of brae and valet; the frequent failure to mark level stress, as in Mordskerl; Schwulst labelled neuter; Bretagne without an article although one is given with Schweiz, etc.; advice, but not evidence, etc., shown as having no plural.

A sprinkling of such errors or inconsistencies will perhaps be inevitable in any sizeable work, but where the underlying principles are questionable, or badly applied, criticisms will be more justified. Here I shall content myself with a couple of more general observations:

(1) The basis for the transcription of German words is said to have been Das große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, but that work can hardly be held responsible for the fact that on the one hand the vowels of, say, füllen and fühlen are shown as being the same in quality, while on the other hand there is assumed to be a difference in quality between those of, say, Bann and Bahn, the latter word being transcribed in exactly the same way as the English barn. The only sound which is actually described is the glottal stop: it is 'a slight pause'. But we are not told where it occurs in German, and the transcriptions do not always help. The authority for the English transcriptions was Daniel Jones, English Pronouncing Dictionary, 12th edition, 'since these transcriptions are easier to understand than those in later editions'.

(2) In a German-English entry a headword will be repeated in abbreviated form and followed by bracketed translations of 'more obvious' elements with which it is likely to combine. Thus M(öbel) is followed by 'shop', 'industry', etc. in brackets, so that Möbelgeschäft, Möbelindustrie, etc. do not need to appear as such. After this space-saving device come M(öbel)lager, M(öbel)spediteur, M(öbel)wagen, followed quite unaccountably by M(öbel)stoff. Then comes Möbelstück, for which, unexpectedly and quite gratuitously, the genitive and plural endings are given. This is a relatively simple entry, but take Land, under which the 'combining forms'

Land-, Lande-, and Landes- are subsumed. Here the shortcomings of the type we noted under Möbel are compounded by inconsistent treatment of, for instance, linking -es-, so that the student is encouraged to produce, say, landeseseigen (sic). Even if he rejects this, his feeling for the language will hardly benefit from a presentation of, say, Frustration as F(rust)ration, or mottenecht as m(otte)necht.

Such examples are entirely typical, and the reader who has followed me thus far will no doubt have drawn his own conclusions about the advisability of placing this dictionary in the hands of the inexperienced users for whom it is apparently intended.

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GERMAN BAROQUE DRAMA. By Judith Popovich Aikin. (Twayne's World Authors Series 634.) Boston, G. K. Hall, 1982. 0 8057 6477 1. £12.60.

The complete German Baroque Drama in 156 pages of text? Surely, even in the Land of Twayne, miracles of such magnitude are not to be expected? And yet, though Professor Aikin is no miracle-worker, and in spite of the inevitable simplifications, omissions, and other disappointments, it has to be admitted that the job was worth doing. And there can be no question that it has been well done. The scope of this survey is truly admirable: not a single aspect of any importance has been neglected, though inevitably the treatment is at times summary and largely descriptive. Not only Gryphius and Lohenstein, who naturally dominate, but also the minor dramatists and the multiplicity of sub-genres (in particular the Festspiel) receive careful attention. Those of us who do not have access to the texts will welcome the substantial account of the plays of Stieler, and look forward eagerly to the complete edition which Professor Aikin is preparing. The bibliography gives a generally very sound and up-to-date account of the secondary literature, though there are one or two items which might be added, for example, Wiedemann on Klaj, Asmuth on Lohenstein and Tacitus, Pasternack on Lohenstein, Eggers on Gryphius (mentioned p. 159 note 13, but not in the main bibliography), and for Hallmann, Spellerberg's essay in the very useful Reclam edition of Mariamne. Of the older work, I would also be inclined to add Julius Rütsch's Das dramatische Ich im deutschen Barock-Theater (1932), which is quite useful for the Jesuit theatre, one of the weaker aspects of the present book. As far as primary texts are concerned, Professor Aikin aims only to give a list of editions used in her text, and so talk of omissions would not be to the point.

The book is much more than simply a catalogue. In spite of the constricting limits within which she has to work, the author manages to give her study an individual profile and cutting edge.

C I

GEORG BRITTING

The Trespass

(translated by J. B. Smith and published by permission of Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, München)

My father used to go fishing at one time, but later he gave it up—I don't know why. Well, he used to go fishing at one time: in fact he was passionately keen on fishing, and on many of his free evenings and most Sundays he would be at the water's edge, by the Danube with its green, powerful current, or by the brown-coloured, melancholy and placid Regen, the black, sparkling Naab, or the Laaber with its bluish opalescence. He liked me to go with him and sit among the bushes on the river bank, to join him in keeping watch on the cork float and in hoping that a fish would take the bait. But on bad days the float would only twirl around disdainfully, and often we went home empty-handed. And then my father would feel ashamed; and yet there was nothing at all to be ashamed of if the fish just didn't feel like biting.

I liked to go with him most of all when he was making for the backwaters of the Danube, a green wilderness of willows and matted undergrowth. There we would sit on the loamy ground: a willow, all twisted, bent over the black mirror, and all the many leaves mirrored themselves in the water. Dragon-flies, green, with wings of glass, hovered, whirred, strangely rigid, as if they were not made of flesh and blood; like machines they were. Reeds stood by the bank, jabbed out of the water, yellow and green, and there was a smell of mud.

When it got too hot for me by the marshy pool I would slip off and make my way through the rustling undergrowth, as far as the stone embankment that separates the backwaters from the main course of the Danube. Here there was sure to be a cool breeze; from the river, it came. There it flowed, green, broad, surging, eddying sometimes. I'd dangle my legs in the water—I'd have left my shoes with my father—and for a long time would look out across that ceaseless movement; and no matter how restless I was at other times, here I could sit for half an hour at a time and gaze, just gaze. From the village on the other side came the lost, lonely crowing of a cock, the church clock's stroke rang out, the sunlight lay on the red rooves; everything was as if in a dream, the great river flowed, and white, puffy clouds floated in the blue sky.

In the evening we'd go home then. In the net I'd be carrying the catch—two or three fish which father had killed, their eyes glazed and blood on their mouths. And then we usually had the fish for supper; but I wasn't too keen on them, was afraid of the bones, just had a taste and resorted rather to bread and butter.

My father had bought himself a fishing permit; well, two or three

fishing permits, to tell you the truth, which gave him the right to fish in different rivers. I didn't have a permit—after all, they were only issued to grown-ups. But sometimes my father would tell me to hold the rod, so that he could move about a bit. And then I'd both hope and fear that a fish would bite, for I didn't really trust myself to yank a wriggling creature like that out of the water, and with a flick of the wrist send it flying through the air in an arc, as I'd often seen my father do it. But when I did once manage to do it, I yelled with enthusiasm when the finny creature, shining silver, leapt about in the sand on the bank, leapt up and down still attached to the hook. My father came running up, carefully detached the hook from the tormented gullet, held the fish firmly in his hand until I could open the net and the fish flopped in. The net was then suspended in the water with the living creature in it.

That had made me proud. It filled me with the joy of the hunter to walk home like a grown man next to my father, to carry the net as always, and to look from time to time at my fish, which I had jerked from out of the depths, and which was now lying dead and twisted in the meshes, next to the two which father had also managed to catch, though mine was the biggest that day.

That was in the long summer holidays. And when I went to bed, still puffed up with pride at my good fortune as a hunter, the desire came over me to go fishing by myself next day, to creep out of the house at the crack of dawn and come back again unnoticed, before everybody had got up. True, you weren't allowed to fish without a permit. That was poaching, and you had to keep a look-out for the law in any shape or form, but I knew too that its guardians were not very likely to find their way into the wilderness beyond the town. We'd never yet seen one of them, and we'd been there a dozen times. I slept badly, kept starting up from my bed, but night still kept looking in, black, at the window. When it was a little after three—I had tiptoed up to the window and looked out into the deep silence—I thought I could see a pale gleam of light in the east, and then, filled with sudden determination, I got dressed, crept to the door in stocking feet, pulled my boots on in the hall, walked down the echoing streets to the Danube. I felt chilly, the cool of the night made me shiver, the Danube surged, carrying little scraps of mist along on its back. The dawn was approaching; still there were stars in the sky, but no cloud. I don't suppose I had ever in my life been up and about so early: everything looked strange and different; the familiar outlines of houses and trees melted and merged with the grey, the stones on the bank were wet with dew; whenever I looked round, the sky was reddening, the greyness over the Danube was clearing, a lighter sheen was spreading over the slopes of the farther side.

I came to the embankment; the bushes to the left and right flopped damply into my face, threw chains of water-drops over my sleeves; the wet grass that grew rank but sparse between the stones of the embankment made my boots a shiny black. There was the place where we

had hidden the fishing rod the day before. I bent the willows apart; there it stood. I took it; now I still needed bait. I knew a spot where there were worms; I dug into the soft earth with a piece of wood. At this hour they were most easily caught, and sure enough I soon had enough earthworms, glistening bluish-red. I took only the medium-sized ones; they were the ones the fish liked best. I twisted a large wet leaf into the shape of a cone and put the wriggling creatures in, and went to the pool where I had caught my first fish the day before.

Impaling the worms on the hook, I didn't like doing that. A whitish juice came out of the curled bodies when the sharp iron penetrated them, and it was repulsive to me that a worm had to be transfixed three or four times until it hung on the hook tangled and convulsed. But it had to be; and I was of the opinion that I had to pull myself together, and my weakness seemed boyish and unmanly to me.

Then I flung the bait on to the water with a smack. It sank below the surface, and the cork float lay motionless on the glossy blackness. Never before had it been so quiet here. No dragon-fly whirred; gnats were not dancing as they used to; on the bushes the dewdrops gleamed; the reeds stabbed malevolently at the air; not a breeze stirred. The float did not move; I threw the bait to another spot, skilfully enough for it to fall into a kind of bay frequented by fish; but none made for the worm.

With a jerk I retrieved the bait; the worm was still squirming on the hook, and I went back some distance along the embankment and crossed over to the Danube.

Here the light had already become more powerful; the sky was gleaming with a greenish silver and was endeavouring to become blue. The village on the other side still lay in greyness. As always the crowing of a cock carried across; cold it was, and still the earliness of dawn.

The water was not very high that summer; great stones, left over from the building of the embankment, protruded from the depths; silently the water surged around them, the mossy ones; and I pulled off my boots in order to climb on to one of these blocks. The dew-wet stone struck cold against my chilled soles. Trying to balance myself with the fishing rod, I stood swaying, stepped across on to another boulder, which arched from out of the water like an animal's back.

The water went down deep next to this stone. Perhaps it was a hole scooped out by a dredger. Distinctly on the floor of the cauldron I could see the flat, greenish Danube pebbles. And I saw something else, something so alarming and astonishing that I held my breath, involuntarily. I knelt down on the stone and lowered my face close to the water, so that I felt the coolness that rose from the depths, and mysteriously and strangely silent—indeed, the silence struck me in particular, even though it was perfectly natural—silent and as if suspended, many fish were gliding back and forth within the cauldron, were swimming obliquely towards the surface, were letting themselves

sink down deep, were stationary for a moment, were stirring their tail fins a little, were brushing past each other. There were large-headed barbel among them, chub, bream with flattened bodies; whitefish glinted when they lay on their sides, as they like to do. It was a bewildering sight. There were, say, a dozen fish, perhaps more, perhaps less; I couldn't count them, because they were moving ceaselessly. In any case, I would have been too agitated to count them in cold blood.

I looked away from the lithe gliding of the shoal: there was the Danube; powerfully it sometimes seemed to thrust forward and flow more rapidly. On the other side were the meadows; the village was there, the hills beyond, the sky above me. A few swallows shot past, close to the water. The sun had already come up, imparted no warmth yet, only light. And when I looked down into the fish cauldron again, the dozens of fish continued to swim and rise and glide and sparkle.

They looked very large, the fish. The water was deceptive, I knew: made things appear larger and distorted them. But even when I allowed for that, they were still undoubtedly splendid specimens which had congregated here.

It seemed almost possible to catch them with my hands, but I didn't want to attempt this. Yet here you could fish in the simplest way, without using a float: you could suspend the bait close to the fish's mouth and watch him snap at it. So I allowed the hook with its still squirming coil of worm to glide into the hole, in amidst the fish. I saw the flimsy fishing line floating obliquely in the water like the green filament of a water weed. But to begin with the fish paid no attention to the bait, brushed past the line so that it bent. And I pulled the bait back and forth in order to tempt one of the fish to swim after it, in order to arouse their curiosity. But the bluish-black glistening creatures were not at all curious. Silent—again and again it agitated me that they were silent—mute and mysterious they wended their way.

A large bream was hovering almost at the floor of the cauldron, and so I allowed the bait to sink still deeper, until it was hanging close to the mouth of the disc-flat creature. The fish nudged the bait a few times with its mouth, swam backwards as if to gain momentum, shot forward, snapped at the bait. I pulled the rod in the opposite direction from the bream's thrust, so that the hook would be firmly driven into the roof of its mouth. The line was already getting taut; I felt the jolt. I saw the fish twist and writhe, saw how, gleaming and scattering silver drops, the other fish shot towards the surface in order to escape from the hole, close to one another, a fleeing phalanx thronging into the open water; saw the hole deserted, with only a struggling bream whipping up waves; and then I swept it out into the light and on to the bank.

I leapt over the backs of the great stones to firm ground, drew in the thrashing fish on the line in order to take it from the hook. I shuddered when I took the creature, two hands in length, in my left hand, felt its

muscles become tense, had to grasp it firmly so that it didn't slip away, and tried now, as I had often seen my father do, to twist the hook from out of the roof of its mouth.

But I was unable to do it. I trembled when the iron refused to budge, when bright red blood flowed from the creature's mouth. And so I decided to kill the fish first and then take it from the hook, to save it from suffering. I struck its head a few times hard against a stone, but my shaking hand was without strength. The fish was alive, slipped from my grasp, was struggling on the ground.

I hurled myself upon it afresh, smacked its head against a stone once more. And because the fish refused to die, in my despair I dashed it against the paved embankment, repeatedly, frantically, with tears of rage and pity and shame in my eyes; repeatedly, five, six times. But the fish was alive; to be sure its leaps were getting smaller, feebler; but dead, dead the fish was not.

It was terrible. I would have preferred to run away: never in my life had I killed a living creature. Well, perhaps I had occasionally crushed a beetle, a spider, with my heel, but this creature was half as long as my forearm, and would not die. Its scales were already clinging to the embankment; it was daubed with earth, so that it now looked ghastly and grimy; its silver bloom had gone; it had the sharp blue iron hook in its mouth. Once more I flung it down, but it was alive.

I sat down on the ground, with my back towards the fish; looked out on to the Danube; sat with beating heart. The fish would have to die by itself after all, that was my last hope now. It would have to choke to death after all; but I didn't want to watch it do so; that at least I didn't want to do. Just at that moment a small river steamer came wheezing upstream with its engine clattering, in the middle of the river. I myself had been for the odd trip on the steamer. It was working its way forward very slowly; there were not too many passengers on it, I saw, for this early morning excursion. Somebody on the ship had seen me, early riser that I was, sitting there, was waving a salutation to me with a white handkerchief. As if in a daze I pulled my handkerchief out too, waved back, was determined not to look round at the silent death-struggle going on behind me until the little steamer had disappeared round the bend in the river. The first waves from the ship came racing towards the bank, smacked against the embankment, frothing; the ship was now no longer to be seen, its wheezing could be heard only faintly, the waves were abating, the Danube was flowing as always.

I turned round. The fish was still twitching. I felt I could bear it no longer. The blue sky above me looked on, merciless; in the willows a gentle breeze was stirring; the silence of the morning was peaceful; the village looked across companionably. And the fish, the fish was alive.

Then I killed it as I had killed the creatures before it, the spiders and the beetles: them I had crushed with my foot! I pulled on my boots, leapt

on the fish and looked straight in front of me as I did so; did not look at my feet, slipped, resumed my trampling, pounded and stamped, hammered with my heels, battered and bruised it, until a dirty, blood-caked, shapeless, scaly mass of fish lay on the stone. Then I pulled out the hook—now it was easy—threw the fish far into the water, cleaned, rubbed and scraped my boots in the grass; cleaned my hands in the Danube, washed them long and well and untiringly, let them hang in the water, luxuriating; laved them in the green water of the Danube, could not have enough of washing, as if I had to wash off many bad, loathsome things. The fishing rod I hid again in the old spot and then set out for home, and suddenly began to run, ran for a long time, until I was breathless.

I managed to get into the house unobserved. All day I felt as if the ground was not firm under my feet. And when in the afternoon—it was holiday-time, you remember—I was lying in the grass and eating a piece of bread and butter, I found on my boot, between upper and sole, a scale, a dried-out, brittle, opaque, dull white scale. This I rubbed between my fingers, put it on the bread, took a large bite, and swallowed the scale down quickly with the bread. Why I did that I do not know.

South West Review, 14, August 1982.

(C1)

Fischfrevel an der Donau

Mein Vater war eine Zeitlang Angler, später ließ er es, ich weiß nicht warum, war also eine Zeitlang Angler, sogar leidenschaftlicher Angler, und viele seiner freien Abende und die meisten seiner Sonntage verbrachte er am Wasser, an der Donau, der grün und mächtig strömenden, auch am bräunlichen, traurigen, stillen Regen, an der schwarzen, funkelnden Naab und der bläulich schillernden Laaber. Er hatte es gern, wenn ich ihn begleitete, in den Uferstauden saß, zu seinen Füßen, mit ihm den Korkschwimmer belauerte, mit ihm hoffte, daß ein Fisch den Köder nähme, aber an schlechten Tagen drehte sich der Schwimmer nur höhnisch um sich, und oft gingen wir mit leeren Händen heim, und dann schämte sich mein Vater, und es war da doch gar nichts zu schämen, wenn die Fische eben keine Lust hatten, zu beißen.

Am liebsten begleitete ich ihn, wenn er sich zu den Altwässern an der Donau aufmachte, einer grünen Wildnis von Weiden und verfilztem Gestrüpp. Da saßen wir auf dem lehmigen Boden, eine Weide, krumm, hing über dem schwarzen Spiegel, und all die vielen Blätter spiegelten sich im Wasser. Wasserjungfern, grün, mit Glasflügeln, schwebten, surrten, seltsam starr, als seien sie nicht aus Fleisch, wie Maschinen waren sie. Schilf stand am Ufer, stach aus dem Wasser, gelbes und grünes, und es roch schlammig.

Wenns mir zu heiß wurde an dem moorigen Tümpel, schlich ich mich weg durchs rauschende Gebüsch, bis zum

steinernen Damm, der die Altwässer von der Donau trennt. Da wehte es auch schon kühl her, das war der Strom, da floß er, grün, breit, wallend, strudelnd manchmal. Ich hängte die Beine ins Wasser, die Schuhe hatte ich bei meinem Vater gelassen, und sah lange auf das Strömende hinaus, und so unruhig ich sonst war, hier konnte ich eine halbe Stunde lang sitzen und schauen, nur schauen. Vom Dorf gegenüber krähte verloren, verschollen ein Hahn, die Turmuhr schlug ihren Schlag, die Sonne lag auf den roten Dächern, alles war wie träumend, der große Strom floß, und weiße, dicke Wolken schwammen am blauen Himmel.

Abends gingen wir dann heim, im Fischnetz trug ich die Beute, zwei, drei Fische, vom Vater totgeschlagen, mit glasigen Augen und Blut vorm Maul, und die Fische gabs dann meistens als Abendessen, aber ich machte mir nicht viel daraus, hatte Angst vor den Gräten, kostete nur gerade und hielt mich lieber an ein Butterbrot.

Mein Vater hatte sich eine Angelkarte gelöst, was sage ich, zwei, drei Angelkarten, die ihn zum Fischen in verschiedenen Flüssen berechtigten. Ich hatte keine Karte, sie wurden ja auch nur an Erwachsene abgegeben, aber manchmal hieß mich mein Vater die Gerte halten, damit er sich etwas Bewegung machen könne, und ich hoffte und fürchtete dann in einem, daß ein Fisch anbeißen könnte, denn ich traute es mir nicht recht zu, so ein zappelndes Tier aus dem Wasser zu schleudern, hoch im Bogen, kunstgerecht, wie ichs beim Vater oft gesehen hatte. Aber als es mir einmal gelang, schrie ich vor Begeisterung, als der silberblitzende Beflößte am Ufer im Sand sprang, auf und nieder sprang, am Haken noch hing. Mein Vater kam herbeigeeilt, löste vorsichtig den Haken aus dem gemarterten Schlund, hielt den Fisch fest in der Hand, bis

ich das Netz öffnete, der Fisch hineinplumpste. Das Netz wurde dann ins Wasser gehängt mit dem lebenden Tier.

Das hatte mich stolz gemacht, Jägerfreude war in mir, daß ich abends wie ein Alter neben meinem Vater heimging, das Fischnetz trug wie immer, und hin und wieder hinsah auf meinen Fisch, den ich aus der Flut geschleudert hatte, und der nun tot und verkrümmt in den Maschen hing, neben den beiden, die Vater sich noch geholt hatte, aber meiner war der größte von heute.

Das war in den großen Sommerferien. Und als ich zu Bett ging, immer noch stolzgeschwellt über mein Jagdglück, überfiel es mich, morgen allein zum Fischen zu gehen, in aller Frühe schon mich aus der Wohnung zu schleichen und unbemerkt wieder zurückzukommen, ehe alles aufgestanden war. Es war zwar verboten, ohne Karte zu fischen, »schwarz« angeln hieß man das, und man mußte vor jedem Schutzmann achtgeben, aber ich wußte auch, dort hinaus, in das Gestrüpp vor der Stadt, geriet so leicht kein Wächter, wir hatten noch nie einen gesehen und waren schon dutzendmal dort gewesen. Ich schlief schlecht, fuhr immer wieder im Bett hoch, aber immer wieder und immer noch sah die Nacht schwarz zum Fenster herein. Als es etwas nach drei Uhr war, ich war zum Fenster getreten, hatte in die tiefe Stille hinausgeblickt, glaubte ich im Osten einen schwachen Lichtschimmer zu sehen, und da kleidete ich mich kurzentschlossen an, schlüpfte auf Strümpfen zur Tür, zog im Hausflur die Schuhe an, ging die hallenden Straßen zur Donau hinab. Es fröstelte mich, Nachtkühle schauerte, die Donau rauschte und trug kleine Nebelfetzen auf ihrem Rücken dahin. Die Dämmerung kam, noch waren die Sterne am Himmel, keine Wolke. Ich war wohl noch nie in meinem Leben so früh auf den Beinen gewesen, alles

sah merkwürdig und anders aus, die bekannten Umrisse von Häusern und Bäumen verschwammen undeutlich im Grau, die Ufersteine waren naß vom Tau, wenn ich mich umsah, rötete sich der Himmel, das Grau über der Donau lichtete sich, ein hellerer Schein legte sich über die Hänge am jenseitigen Ufer.

Der Damm begann, die Sträucher rechts und links wischten mir feucht ins Gesicht, warfen mir Tropfenketten über die Ärmel, das nasse Gras, das kümmerlich zwischen den Dammsteinen wucherte, machte mir die Stiefel glänzend schwarz. Da war die Stelle, wo wir gestern die Angelgerte versteckt hatten, ich bog die Weiden auseinander, da stand sie, ich nahm sie, nun brauchte ich noch Köder. Ich wußte einen Platz, wo es Würmer gab, grub mit einem Stück Holz in der weichen Erde, um diese Stunde waren sie am leichtesten zu erwischen, bald auch hatte ich genug bläulichrot schimmernde Regenwürmer, nur solche mittlerer Größe nahm ich, die schmeckten den Fischen am besten. Ich tat die Schlängeltiere in eine Tüte, die ich mir aus einem großen feuchten Blatt drehte, und ging zu dem Weiher, wo ich gestern meinen ersten Fisch geangelt hatte.

Die Würmer auf den Haken zu spießen, das tat ich ungern, es trat ein weißlicher Saft aus den Ringelleibern, wenn das scharfe Eisen hineindrang, und es war mir unangenehm, daß ein Wurm gleich dreimal oder viermal durchbohrt werden mußte, bis er wie ein zuckendes Geflecht am Haken hing, aber es mußte sein, und ich meinte mich zusammennehmen zu müssen, und die Schwäche kam mir knabenhaft und unmännlich vor.

Dann schleuderte ich den Köder klatschend auf das Wasser, er sank unter, und der Korkschwimmer lag unbeweglich auf dem schwärzlichen Glanz. Nie war es hier

sonst so ruhig gewesen. Keine Wasserjungfer surrte, Mücken tanzten nicht wie sonst, auf den Sträuchern blitzten die Tautropfen, das Schilf stach feindselig in die Luft, kein Wind ging. Der Schwimmer rührte sich nicht, ich warf den Köder an eine andere Stelle, geschickt genug, daß er in eine Art von Bucht niederfiel, wo Fische gern stehen, aber keiner machte sich an den Wurm.

Mit einem Ruck holte ich den Köder heraus, der Wurm drehte sich immer noch am Haken, und ich ging auf dem Damm eine Strecke zurück und hinüber zur Donau.

Hier war das Licht schon mächtiger geworden, der Himmel glänzte grünsilbrig und war bestrebt, blau zu werden. Das Dorf drüben lag noch im Grau, wie immer krähte ein Hahn herüber, kalt wars und immer noch dämmerungsfrüh.

Es war kein sehr hoher Wasserstand in diesem Sommer, große Steine, vom Uferbau übriggeblieben, ragten aus der Flut, still rauschte das Wasser um sie, die bemoost waren, und ich zog meine Schuhe aus, um auf einen dieser Klötze zu steigen. Kalt schlug der taufeuchte Stein gegen meine fröstelnden Fußsohlen, mit der Angelgerte das Gleichgewicht suchend, stand ich schaukelnd, trat auf einen anderen Block hinüber, der wie ein Tierrücken aus dem Wasser sich wölbte.

Neben diesem Stein ging das Wasser tief hinunter, es war ein Baggerloch vielleicht, deutlich sah ich am Boden des Kessels die flachen, grünlichen Donaukiesel und sah noch etwas, etwas so Erschreckendes und Erstaunliches, daß ich den Atem anhielt, unwillkürlich. Ich kniete auf dem Stein nieder und brachte mein Gesicht dicht über das Wasser, daß ich die Kühle spürte, die aus der Tiefe aufstieg, und geheimnisvoll und seltsam lautlos, ja, die Lautlosigkeit fiel mir besonders auf, obwohl sie doch ganz

und gar natürlich war, lautlos und wie schwebend glitten viele Fische in dem Kessel hin und her, schwammen schräg nach oben, wendeten, ließen sich nach unten sinken, standen kurz, rührten ein wenig die Schwanzflossen, strichen umeinander her. Es waren dickköpfige Barben darunter, Aiteln, Brachsen mit breitgequetschten Leibern, Weißfische blitzten, wenn sie sich auf die Seite legten, wie sie es gerne tun. Es war ein verwirrender Anblick, es war wohl ein Dutzend Fische, vielleicht mehr, vielleicht weniger, ich konnte sie nicht zählen, weil sie sich unaufhörlich bewegten. Ich wäre auch zu aufgeregt gewesen, sie kaltblütig zu zählen.

Ich sah weg von dem geschmeidigen Gegleite: da war die Donau, mächtig, wie in Stößen schien sie manchmal schneller zu fließen, drüben waren die Wiesen, das Dorf war da, die Hügel jenseits, der Himmel über mir, ein paar Schwalben schossen dicht überm Wasser hin, die Sonne war schon heraufgekommen, wärmte noch nicht, leuchtete noch bloß, und als ich wieder hinabsah in den Fischkessel, da schwamm und stieg und glitt und blitzte immer noch das Fischdutzend.

Sie sahen sehr groß aus, die Fische, das Wasser war trügerisch, wußte ich, ließ die Dinge größer und verzerrt erscheinen, aber auch wenn ich das abrechnete, mußten es immer noch stattliche Tiere sein, die sich hier versammelt hatten.

Sie mit der Hand zu fangen, wie es fast möglich schien, wollte ich doch nicht versuchen, aber hier konnte man angeln auf die einfachste Art, ohne Gebrauch des Schwimmers, hier konnte man dem Fisch den Köder dicht vors Maul halten und zusehen, wie er schnappte. Ich ließ also den Haken mit dem sich noch immer drehenden Wurmknäuel in das Loch gleiten, mitten zwischen die Fische.

Ich sah die dünne Angelschnur schräg im Wasser wie eine grüne Wasserpflanzenfaser schwimmen, aber zuerst beachteten die Fische den Köder nicht, streiften die Schnur, daß sie sich bog, und ich zog den Köder hin und her, um einen der Fische zu verlocken, ihm nachzuschwimmen, um ihre Neugier zu reizen, aber die blauschwarz-schimmernden Tiere waren gar nicht neugierig, lautlos, immer wieder erregte es mich, daß sie lautlos waren, stumm und geheimnisreich zogen sie ihre Bahn.

Eine große Brachse stand fast am Boden des Lochs, und da ließ ich den Köder noch tiefer sinken, bis er dicht vorm Maul des scheibenflachen Tieres hing. Der Fisch stieß ein paarmal mit dem Maul gegen den Köder, schwamm rückwärts, als nehme er einen Anlauf, schoß vor, schnappte zu, ich riß die Angelgerte entgegen der Richtung des Stoßes der Brachse, damit der Haken fest in ihren Gaumen dringe, schon straffte sich die Schnur, ich spürte den Ruck, ich sah den Fisch sich winden und krümmen, sah, wie blitzend, silberne Perlen werfend, die anderen Fische nach oben schossen, aus dem Loch herauszukommen, dicht aneinander, eine flüchtende Schar drängte ins offene Wasser, sah das Loch leer, nur eine zappelnde Brachse schlug Wellen, und dann schleuderte ich sie heraus ans Licht und ans Ufer.

Ich sprang über die Rücken der großen Steine ans Land, zog den schlagenden Fisch an der Schnur heran, um ihn vom Haken zu holen. Ich schauderte, als ich das Tier, zweimal handlang, naß, in die linke Hand nahm, spürte, wie seine Muskeln sich spannten, mußte fest zugreifen, daß es mir nicht entschlüpfte, und versuchte nun, wie ich das oft bei meinem Vater gesehen hatte, den Haken aus dem Gaumen herauszudrehen.

Aber es gelang mir nicht. Ich zitterte, als das Eisen sich

nicht löste, als hellrotes Blut dem Tier aus dem Maul drang, und so wollte ich den Fisch zuerst töten und ihn dann vom Haken nehmen, um ihm Schmerzen zu sparen. Ich schlug seinen Kopf ein paarmal fest gegen einen Stein, aber meine bebende Hand hatte keine Stärke, der Fisch lebte, rutschte mir aus den Fingern, zappelte und sprang am Boden.

Ich stürzte mich von neuem auf ihn, klatschte den Kopf wieder gegen einen Stein, und weil der Fisch nicht sterben wollte, schmetterte ich ihn in meiner Verzweiflung gegen den gepflasterten Damm, immer wieder, tobend, Tränen der Wut und des Mitleids und der Beschämung im Auge, immer wieder, fünfmal, sechsmal. Aber der Fisch lebte, seine Sprünge wurden kleiner zwar, matter, aber tot, tot war der Fisch nicht.

Es war schrecklich, am liebsten wäre ich davongelaufen: ich hatte noch nie in meinem Leben ein Tier getötet, ja, einen Käfer vielleicht einmal zertreten, eine Spinne, aber das Tier hier war halb so lang wie mein Unterarm, und starb nicht. Seine Schuppen hingen schon am Damm, es war mit Erde beschmiert, daß es nun wüst und schwärzlich aussah, sein silberner Glanz war weg, den scharfen blauen Eisenhaken hatte es im Maul, wieder warf ich es zu Boden, aber es lebte.

Ich setzte mich zu Boden, den Rücken gegen den Fisch, sah auf die Donau hinaus, saß mit schlagendem Herzen, der Fisch mußte doch von selber sterben, das war jetzt meine letzte Hoffnung, er mußte doch ersticken, aber ich wollte ihm dabei nicht zusehen, das wenigstens wollte ich nicht. Jetzt gerade kam ein kleiner Flußdampfer ratternd gegen die Strömung gekeucht, in der Strommitte, ich war selbst mit dem Dampfer schon manchmal gefahren, er arbeitete sich nur langsam voran, er war nur mäßig be-

setzt, sah ich, bei dieser Morgenfahrt. Jemand auf dem Schiff hatte mich Frühaufsteher sitzen sehen, winkte mit einem weißen Tuch einen Gruß herüber, wie betäubt zog ich auch mein Taschentuch, winkte zurück, war entschlossen, nicht umzusehen nach dem lautlosen Todeskampf hinter mir, bis der kleine Dampfer um die Strombiegung verschwunden sein würde. Die ersten Wellen, die das Schiff warf, kamen gegen das Ufer gerannt, klatschten gegen den Damm, schäumend, das Schiff war nun nicht mehr zu sehen, sein Keuchen noch schwach zu hören, die Wellen verliefen sich, die Donau strömte wie immer.

Ich drehte mich um, der Fisch zuckte immer noch. Ich glaubte, es nicht mehr ertragen zu können, der blaue Himmel über mir sah unbarmherzig zu, in den Weiden ging ein leichter Wind, die Morgenstille war friedlich, freundlich sah das Dorf herüber, und der Fisch, der Fisch lebte.

Da tötete ich ihn, wie die Tiere, die ich schon je getötet hatte, die Spinnen und die Käfer: die hatte ich zertreten! Ich zog meine Schuhe an, sprang auf den Fisch und sah ganz geradeaus dabei, sah nicht auf meine Füße hin, rutschte, trat wieder zu, drückte und stampfte, hämmerte mit den Absätzen, zerquetschte und zermalmte ihn, bis ein schmutziges, blutverklebtes, unförmiges, geschupptes Stück Fischfleisch auf den Steinen lag. Dann zog ich den Haken heraus, jetzt ging es leicht, warf den Fisch weit ins Wasser, reinigte, rieb und schabte die Schuhe im Gras, reinigte mir die Hände in der Donau, wusch sie lange und gut und unermüdlich, ließ sie im Wasser hängen, wohlig, ließ sie von dem grünen Donauwasser umspülen, konnte mir nicht genug tun mit dem Waschen, als müßte ich Vieles und Schlimmes und Ekelhaftes abwaschen. Die Angelgerte versteckte ich wieder am alten Platz und machte

mich dann auf den Heimweg und fing plötzlich zu laufen an, lief lange, bis ich atemlos war.

Es gelang mir, unauffällig in die Wohnung zu kommen, es war mir den ganzen Tag, als sei der Boden unter mir nicht fest, und als ich nachmittags, es waren ja Ferien, im Gras lag und ein Butterbrot aß, fand ich an meinem Schuh, zwischen Oberleder und Sohle, eine Schuppe, eine getrocknete, spröd gewordene, undurchsichtige, stumpfweiße Schuppe. Die rieb ich zwischen den Fingern, legte sie auf das Brot, biß kräftig ab und aß die Schuppe mit dem Brot rasch hinunter. Warum ich das tat, weiß ich nicht.

Das große Georg Britting Buch, Munich, 1977

C 2

SOME HYPOTHESES ON THE ACQUISITION OF THE FLEXION OF DETERMINERS IN GERMAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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1. Outline

Since 1975, as part of a more general survey, a number of investigations have been carried out at the Institut für Deutsch als Fremdsprachenphilologie (Heidelberg) on the acquisition of German as a foreign language by students with different mother tongues.[1] These individual studies share an interest in the following questions in particular:

1. What regularities can be observed in the acquisition of German as a foreign language by foreign students?
2. What variables relating to learner and environment can be said to influence acquisition?
3. What are the implications of these observations for the teaching of foreign languages?

In the study which I am about to discuss, the aim was to discover in what sequence students with English as their mother tongue develop the flexional system (number, gender, case) of the German determiners.[2] Other investigations, some of which are still in hand, are concerned with answering the same question in respect of Japanese students, and with throwing light on the acquisition of the semantics of determiners by Americans and Japanese.

If one defines the term 'determiners' on the basis of distributional characteristics, the resulting syntactic distributional class will, as is shown in the detailed analysis by Heinz Vater, contain very many more formatives than the definite and indefinite articles of school grammars.[3] There are two main reasons for the fact that in what follows I am in the first place concerned with only three form classes, namely the series der, die, das, . . ., ein, eine, . . ., and dieser, diese, dieses, . . .:

1. Using the three groups, it is possible to show the characteristic features of this process of acquisition.
2. In the early phase of the acquisition of German under consideration here these three groups are better represented than others.

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2. Sampling and Data

The analysis was based on tape recordings of the informal spoken German of four American students.[4] After the appropriate tests all four students had been placed in the second grade of the beginners' section of a crash course in German (twenty-five hours per week), and proved to have reached roughly the same standard in their knowledge of German. Further information about some relevant variables relating to the learners and their environment is given in Table 1.[5]

On the collection of data Mary Carroll writes:

> each informant [was] interviewed on his own once per week on average [over a period of nine weeks]. . . . The interviews were structured in such a way as to ensure a certain degree of comparability, and to allow for the fact that the linguistic performances of the learners vary considerably according to the subjects under discussion. The proportion of 'relaxing' topics, that is those of which it was possible to assume that the learners would be willing to discuss them frequently, . . . was, as far as possible, kept in a constant ratio to more complex themes such as those relating to political events and the like.[6]

Some of these interview data are suited to the present investigation, others are not. In natural conversation outside the classroom the informants behave spontaneously and without constraint. Tension induced by the pedagogical situation, inhibitions, and 'monitoring' of linguistic behaviour scarcely come into play, and become even less noticeable during the course of a longitudinal study, if the interviewer succeeds in gaining the confidence of the informants. Thus on the one hand these data are probably valid as a representation of the stage reached in the acquisition of the language at a given time; monitoring by an as yet un-internalized knowledge of grammar is to a large extent eliminated. On the other hand, this informal technique for obtaining data has the disadvantage that the proportion of relevant observations cannot be controlled in a way that would be possible in a more markedly experimental setting. In a natural conversation it is impossible systematically to elicit specific forms such as, say, noun phrases in the dative plural with feminine substantives as head nouns. Thus it can happen that throughout a whole conversation not a single instance will occur.

It is difficult to pronounce with any degree of certainty on the number of occurrences of a given form that will be necessary in order to clarify an empirically formulated set of questions, and in empirical research into the acquisition of foreign languages this difficulty is especially apparent. In the first place, the learning process cannot be observed directly, but only through analysis and interpretation of the students' behaviour in speaking the foreign language. Can a rule be considered as having been learnt when anomalies cease

to occur, when a correct form is used for the first time, or when, four or five times consecutively within a given period, this correct form is produced or a form is correctly understood?[7]

As for the approximate number of informants required, this can only be determined once we know what variables relating to disturbing factors might be relevant, as well as how many independent variables there are whose incidence can be verified.

Furthermore, however, the informants ought to be monitored and, if possible, kept at the same level in respect of the distorting variables, something which is totally impossible in a non-experimental longitudinal study, since the freedom of movement of the informants would have to be interfered with; not only attendance at classes, but also exposure to the German language during leisure time, including, for instance, meetings with German-speaking friends, would have to be monitored and controlled. Even if all these things could be planned, they could not be put into practice. In a nutshell, we are obliged to draw conclusions with a maximum of attention to methodological detail within the framework of the existing situation and what is actually feasible.

The data collected from Joe, Rick, Karin, and Ieke contained a total of 825 examples in roughly equal proportions, in other words approximately 200 per informant and on average 22 occurrences per conversation. It will be clear from these numbers that not every form of every determiner is represented in every conversation, since given two numbers, four cases, three genders, and three different determiners there would have to be 2 x 4 x 3 x 3 = 72 occurrences per informant per conversation. This calculation is, however, inappropriate to the extent that the informants simply do not use all the forms right from the beginning. Dative plural forms do not occur until a relatively late stage. Up to then, the relevant contexts are paraphrased or avoided. Genitive forms do not occur at all during the period of observation; the relevant grammatical meaning is expressed by means of prepositions.

3. The Analysis

3.1 Principles of Analysis

As indicated above, the analysis is intended to provide preliminary answers to the question, 'In what sequence do American students with English mother tongue develop certain flexional rules in determiners during the initial stage of the acquisition of German?' Some principles on which a method of analysis could be based emerged after a preliminary arrangement and evaluation of the data. These demonstrated the following:

(a) The acquisition of the flexional system did not take place in clearly defined steps or stages. On the contrary, the transitions from one phase to the next were blurred.

(b) Admittedly, those occurrences that are not ambiguous point to a gradual development of the flexional system. However, many occurrences are ambiguous, and these play no part, or play only a limited part, in clarifying the sequence of acquisition (see below).

(c) The development of the flexional system does not proceed uniformly. It differs in the three subclasses of the definite, indefinite, and demonstrative article, so that each of these must be investigated separately. Moreover, within a given phase, or stage, of language acquisition, an intra-linguistic, syntactically determined, variation can be observed. The probability that a new grammatical category will be morphologically marked is greater in the case of simple noun phrases (Det + N) than in the case of prepositional noun phrases (Prep + Det + N), and in the case of syntactically 'higher' noun phrases it is greater than for syntactically 'lower' ones, such as prepositional nominal attributes, for example die Manager von die großen Firmen (Karin, Conversation No. 4). This means, mutatis mutandis: the state of development arrived at in earlier phases of language acquisition is maintained longest in prepositional attributes.

(d) In respect of the sequences which were shown to exist here, there are no discrepancies between the four informants. This does not mean that every new flexional feature in every category (number, case, etc.) was observed in each of the three subclasses for each of the four informants. There are gaps, but no conflicting sequences.

In view of all this the analysis was carried out according to the following principles:

(a) The examples collected from the four informants were regarded as a data set. This decision may at first glance appear to have been a rash one from the methodological point of view, but it is in my opinion justified, because, as mentioned above, no conflicting developments were observed to exist between the informants, because the group was relatively homogeneous in respect of the relevant variables appertaining to the learners and their environment, and because Mary Carroll's investigation of syntactic development in German as acquired by these four informants has shown that individual variation is relatively slight here too.[8]

(b) The developments in the different subgroups were analysed separately. Likewise, syntactically conditioned intra-linguistic variation was taken into account.

(c) A new stage of language acquisition is assumed to have been reached in a given sample under analysis if more than half of all relevant and unambiguous occurrences belong to the new paradigm. Ambiguous occurrences are not considered. An example: at a relatively early stage no gender distinction is made in the definite articles; die is used for all genders (die Nachbar, die Bier, die Uni). Then a distinction is made — in the singular of course — between die and der. Examples are to be found as early as Rick 3: der Körper, der Grund. But it is not until the fourth conversation that the majority of all relevant and unambiguous data can be arranged under the new paradigm according to which two genders are distinguished in the singular in all syntactic positions: gender 1 = die; gender 2 = der. In this case all noun phrases with feminine substantive and the article form die are regarded as ambiguous, since they can also be seen as representing the previous stage of language acquisition, characterized by the single form die and absence of gender distinction.

3.2 Results

A preliminary overview of the developments observed, listed separately according to the three subgroups of determiners and — at the beginning — according to different syntactic conditions, is provided in Table 2.

Given the definition of the term phase, or stage, referred to above, the largest number of phases, a total of nine to be precise, emerges in the development of the flexional system of the definite article. I should like to draw particular attention to some of the results of the analysis contained in the table:

1. With the definite and demonstrative articles, what is later to become the feminine form is most in evidence to start with, whereas in the case of the indefinite article it is the masculine or neuter form. (See Column 1.)
2. With the definite article a distinction is made in the category of case in the first place between nominative and accusative, the non-feminine forms of the article being affected; only after this is the dative form of the feminine developed, followed by the dative forms of the masculine.
3. In all three subgroups, the dative forms, even if they relate to the accusative in different sequences, always occur first in the feminine, and only afterwards in the other genders.
4. In all three subgroups the two number categories are developed first, followed by gender and case.
5. In the definite and indefinite articles, gender and (where applicable) number develop first in the subject position, separately from the other syntactic groups such as object,

adverbial prepositional phrase, and attributive noun phrase. With the demonstrative article no such separate development takes place. Admittedly, a number and gender distinction does not begin to emerge here until it is already present in the other two groups.

6. In the dative singular of the demonstrative article the genders, which have already been developed in the nominative, are not distinguished, whereas in the definite and indefinite articles a clear distinction is made.

7. The dative forms are not developed simultaneously for singular and plural. In both the definite and demonstrative article a case distinction does not emerge in the plural until the end of the period of investigation.

It seems to me to be extraordinarily difficult to elicit general laws from these individual observations. I shall therefore not discuss this matter further, but shall make some critical remarks on the linguistic description in Table 2. It is, as can easily be seen, comparatively crude, in other words it does not embrace many distinctions in the article flexion of German, or for that matter of the various stages of acquisition, and as far as its form is concerned it leaves much to be desired.

3.3 A Detailed Representation

As already pointed out, the above representation (Table 2) gives only a rough outline, restricted to the three subclasses of determiner, of the respective stages of language acquisition and of their development in respect of article flexion. It does not contain details of syntactically conditioned variation, nor does it deal with peculiarities in the syntax of determiners dependent on mass nouns and proper names, or with the possessive determiners meine, mein, etc. and the negative determiners keine, kein, etc.

Finally, it does not represent those gradual changes from one stage to the next which may be referred to briefly as the quantitative characteristics of acquisition. On the basis of sociolinguistic theories on the one hand and mathematical models of probabilistic languages on the other, in recent years research into the acquisition of foreign languages has, like other types of investigation, seen the development of formal procedures and the application of these to larger sets of data. This has made it possible to represent linguistic variation and processes of linguistic change in a very generally coherent way. The aims and nature of the present investigation would be best served by the model of a grammar of varieties as developed and described by Klein (1974).[9] However, in order to apply such a model to the results of this investigation, we should need a fairly comprehensive account of the syntax and morphophonology of determiners, an apparatus which would, on the other hand, bring with it a number of drawbacks.

In terms of generative grammar, regularities of determiner flexion affect widely scattered parts of the derivation such as, for instance, the projection of features from the substantive, and feature distinctions depending on that part of the syntactic structure which contains the determiner. Admittedly, this could, in principle be represented in a generative grammar with weighted derivations, but the considerable degree of complexity of the transformational rules would not be conducive to clarity. I shall therefore attempt to represent the empirical findings of this study in a less formal, less complex way, but one which will nevertheless be considerably more exact than the overview in Table 2.

The description may be reduced to the schema given in Table 3. It contains in a compact and simplified form all the features which would have to be incorporated in the appropriate replacement rules of a complete description: semantic-syntactic (Det) and morpho-syntactic features (morphological characterizations), together with selectional features of the syntactic environment (syntax) and of the content of the respective head nouns (environment).

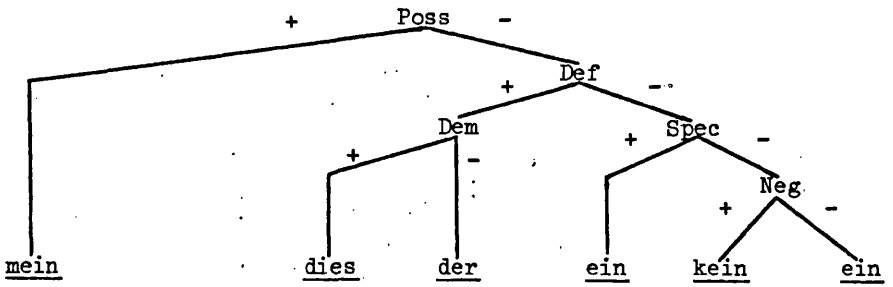
Provision is made for up to two different values for number, up to three for gender, and up to four for case. In respect of syntactic structure the following distinctions are made:

_(x)V: The determiner to be described is that of the subject NP;
- _N: simple noun phrase
- _Adj: adjectivally expanded noun phrase

V(y)_: . . . that of the object NP
- V_: direct or indirect object
- Prep_: simple prepositional phrase
- Prep_Adj: adjectivally expanded prepositional phrase

N(z)_: Nominal attribute
- N_: simple nominal attribute
- Prep_(Adj): simple or adjectivally expanded prepositional attribute

The hierarchy of syntactic-semantic features considered here is:



In the environment provision is made for four subgroups of substantives:

N1 [+ appellative, + individuative], e.g. Mensch
N2 [+ appellative, - individuative], e.g. Wasser
N3 [- appellative, - individuative, Type 1], e.g. Karl
N4 [- appellative, - individuative, Type 2], e.g. die Schweiz

In the output string (phon/lex) the formative is, for the sake of simplicity, given in normal spelling, and not as a matrix of phonological features.

Now this tabular method of representation makes it possible to represent a rule in every line by marking different columns — those, to be precise, whose features are to be incorporated in the rule.

Example:

a) DET [+ Det, + Def, - Dem, α num, β gen, γ cas]
in which: α = 1 (of 1,2) β = 1 (of 1,2)
γ = 3 (of 1,3)

and b) [+ Det + Def . . .] der / [-N2] . . . V

:= Description of a stage of acquisition in which, within the definite articles (+ Def, - Dem) of two numbers, two genders and two case categories, the feminine dative singular form preceding a mass noun (N2) in a simple nominal group in

subject position ([-N2] ... V) is der.

In the tabular representation the whole of this part of the description follows the pattern of the first line after 'Example' above.

All the results and examples produced by an analysis of the material available to me are described in this way in Tables 4 to 7 and in the Examples (Table 8) and are roughly divided into four consecutive intermediate languages, L_0 to L_3. The examples are grouped according to the numbers given in Tables 4 to 7, Column R_i.

There is a divergence from the procedure explained above (Table 3) in that in the descriptions in Tables 4 to 7 several rules are occasionally represented in one line of the scheme. This means that, in columns which in fact admit of a detailed reference to individual features, e.g. Num 1,2, only an 'x' has been entered. The reference here is to the singular and plural rules; it is, however, always clear from the formatives and from the examples which individual rules are combined in one line in a given instance.[10]

Table 1: Data on the Informants

(translated from Mary Carroll, 'Zweitsprachenerwerb: Ein zyklischer Lernprozeß', p. 9)

NAME	PROVENANCE AND AGE	EDUCATION	KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN TO DATE	KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER LANGUAGES	CONTACT WITH GERMANS	ATTENDANCE AT CLASSES	PERIOD ALREADY SPENT IN THE FRG AT THE BEGINNING OF THE STUDY	OBJECTIVE
IEKE	VIRGINIA (21)	GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL AND ONE YEAR AT UNIVERSITY	STUDY AT UNIVERSITY	DUTCH	ABOVE AVERAGE	100%	3.5 MONTHS	B.A.
JOE	NEW YORK (21)	GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL AND ONE YEAR AT UNIVERSITY	STUDY IN SCHOOL-LEAVING EXAMINATION	NONE	ABOVE AVERAGE	0%	3.5 MONTHS	GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN
KARIN	CALIFORNIA (21)	GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL AND ONE YEAR AT UNIVERSITY	STUDY AT UNIVERSITY	SPANISH (GOOD)	AVERAGE	100%	2.5 MONTHS	B.A.
RICK	CALIFORNIA (24)	COMPLETED (CINEMATIC ART)	STUDY AT SCHOOL	SPANISH (GOOD) FRENCH (SCHOOL)	AVERAGE	30%	1 YEAR	KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN

Table 2: Development of the flexional categories of the definite, indefinite, and demonstrative article by four American students

(' -- ' = coincides with the corresponding forms in the preceding phase)

	1	2	3	4
DEF. ART.	SUBJ, OBJ, PP, ATTR: GEN0, CAS0, NUM1 -> 0, NUM2 -> DIE	SUBJ: GEN0, CAS0, NUM1 -> DIE, NUM2 -> DIE; OBJ, PP, ATTR: GEN0, CAS0, NUM1 -> 0, NUM2 -> DIE	SUBJ, OBJ, PP, ATTR: GEN0, CAS0, NUM1 -> DIE, NUM2 -> DIE	NUM1: GEN1 -> DIE, GEN2 -> DER, CAS0; NUM2 -> DIE: GEN0, CAS0
INDEF. ART.	SUBJ: NUM1 -> EIN, GEN0, CAS0, NUM2 -> 0$; OBJ, PP, ATTR: NUM0 -> 0$, GEN0, CAS0 ($ = OR NOT POSSIBLE)		SUBJ: NUM1 -> EINE, GEN1, CAS0; OBJ, PP, ATTR: GEN2 -> EIN	NUM1: GEN1 -> EINE, CAS1; GEN1 -> EINER, CAS3; GEN2 -> EIN, CAS0

5	6	7	8	9
NUM1: GEN1 -> DIE, GEN2 -> DER, GEN3 -> DAS, CAS0; NUM2 -> DIE: CAS0, GEN0	NUM1: GEN1 -> DIE; GEN2 -> DER, CAS1; GEN2.3 -> DEN, CAS2; NUM2 -> DIE: CAS0, GEN0	NUM1: GEN1 -> DIE, CAS1; GEN1 -> DER, CAS3; --; --	NUM1: --; --; GEN3 -> DAS, CAS2; GEN2 -> DEN, CAS3	NUM1: --; --; --; --; NUM2: GEN1.2.3 -> DER, CAS3
	NUM1: GEN1 -> EINE, CAS1; GEN1 -> EINER, CAS3; GEN2 -> EIN, CAS1; GEN2 -> EINEN, CAS3	NUM1: --; --; --; GEN3 -> EIN, CAS2; GEN2 -> EINEN, CAS2		

(Table 2, continued)

	1	2	3	4
DEN. ART.	SUBJ OBJ PP ATTR NUM0 -> DIESE GEN0 CAS0		NUM1 GEN0 -> DIESE CAS1 GEN0 -> DIESER CAS3 NUM2 GEN0 -> DIESE CAS0	

	5	6	7	8	9
DEN. ART.		NUM1 GEN1 -> DIESE CAS1 GEN2 -> DIESER CAS1 GEN3 -> DIESES CAS1 GEN0 -> DIESER CAS3 NUM2 GEN0 -> DIESE CAS0		NUM1 -- -- -- -- NUM2 GEN0 -> DIESE CAS1 GEN0 -> DIESE CAS3	

Table 3: Scheme for a more detailed description of determiners

	Synt/Sem features				Morphological Characterization																		
L i	DET				NUM	GENDR			CASE										Gen	Per			
	+ Def		- Def																				
	P o s s	+ D e m	- D e m	+spec	-spec																		
						+ n e g	- n e g												+ - n f e m	R i 1 2 3			
								1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	3							
						0	2	0	2	3	0	2	3	4	3	4	4	0					
Example		x				1		1				3											

	Syntax						Environment						
	(x)V		V(y)			N(z)	N1	N2	N3	N4	----> PHON/LEX		R i
	N	A d j	V	P r e p	P r e p A d j	N	P r e p A d j						
	x							x			der		i

Table 4: The acquisition of determiners by English-speaking adults: the first phase

L O	Synt/Sem features: DET: + Def: Poss	+ Def: + Dem	+ Def: - Dem	- Def: +spec	- Def: -spec	Morphological Characterization: NUM	GENDR	CASE	Gen	Per	Syntax: (x)V_N	(x)V_A	V(y)_ Pre e	V(y)_ Pre d	V(y)_ Pre j	N(z)_ Pre e	N(z)_ Pre d	N(z)_ Pre j	Environment: N1	N2	N3	N4	PHON/LEX	R i
G (poss) O	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			mein, dein, sein, unser, euer, ihr	0.1
		x				x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x				ø [singular] die [plural]	0.2
G (-Dem) O		x				x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x			ø [singular] plural not possible	0.3
		x				x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	ø [singular] ø [plural]	0.4
			x		x	x	x	x			x	x					x						ein [singular] ø [plural]	0.5
G (-Def) O			x		x	x	x	x			x	x						x					ø [singular] plural not possible	0.6
			x		x	x	x	x			x		x	x	x		x		x	x	x		ø [singular] ø [pl] or pl. not poss.	0.7
G (+Neg) O				x		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		keine	0.8
G (+Dem) O		x				x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		diese	0.9

Table 5: The acquisition of determiners by English-speaking adults: the second phase

L	Synt/Sem features: DET: + Def: P	+ Def: o	+ Def: s	+ Def: s	DET: − Def: +spec: +	DET: − Def: +spec: −	DET: − Def: −spec: +spec	DET: − Def: −spec: −spec	Morphological Characterization: NUM: 1	GENDR: 0	GENDR: 1	GENDR: 2	CASE: 1	CASE: 2	CASE: 3	CASE: 4	Gen: 0	Gen: 1	Gen: 2	Gen: 3	Gen: 4	Per: f	Per: e	Per: m	R i
G (poss) 1	x								x	x		x								x			1.1
			x						x	x		x											1.2
G (−Dem) 1			x						x	x		x											1.3
			x						x	x		x											1.4
				x		x			x	x		x											1.5
G (−Def) 1				x		x			x	x													1.6
				x	-	x			x	x		x											1.7
G (+Neg) 1					x				x		x												1.8
G (+Dem) 1		x							x	x				x									1.9

Syntax: (x)V	Syntax: V(y): d	Syntax: V(y): j	Syntax: V(y): Pro/per: N	Syntax: V(y): Pro/per: A	Syntax: V(y): Pro/per: d	Syntax: V(y): Pro/per: j	Syntax: N(z): N	Syntax: N(z): Pro/per: p	Environment: N1	N2	N3	N4	——→ PHON/LEX	R i
x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x				mein, dein, sein, unser, euer, ihr, meine, deine, seine, unsere, euere, ihre	1.1
x	x								x	x			die [singular] die [pl] or not poss. (N2)	1.2
x	x										x	x	ø or die [singular] die [plural]	1.3
		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x		ø [singular] die [plural]	1.4
x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x				ein, eine [singular] ø [plural]	1.5
x	x									x			ø [singular] plural not possible	1.6
		x	x	x			x		x	x			ø [singular] ø [pl] or pl. not poss.	1.7
x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x				kein, keine [singular] keine [pl] or not poss(N2)	1.8
x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x				diese, dieser [singular] diese [plural]	1.9

Synt/Sem features					Morphological Characterization																Syntax				Environment					
	DET				NUM	GENDR	CASE									Gen	Per				(x)V	V(y)		N(z)		N1	N2	N3	N4	——> PHON/LEX	R i
	+ Def		- Def																											
P	+	-	+spec	-spec																										
o	D	D															+													
s	e	e					+	-								1	-													
s	m	m					n	n				1				1	1	2	f	1										
							e	e	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	e	2											
							g	g	0	2	0	2	3	0	2	3	4	3	4	4	0	m	3								
oss)	x								x		x		x							x										mein, meine [singular]	2.1
																														meine [pl] or not poss.	
		x							x	x			x							x										die [singular]	2.2
																														die [pl] or not poss.	
em)		x							x	x			x							x										ø or die [singular]	2.3
																														die [plural]	
ef)			x			x			x		x			x						x	x									ein, eine, einer	2.4
																														[sing gen2] // ø [pl]	
eg)	For (+Neg), no further development — see G1																			(+Neg)										[see G1 (+Neg)]	-
	x								x		x		x							x										dieser, diese, dieses [sg]	2.5
																														diese [pl] or not poss.	
em)	x								x	x			x																		dieser [singular case3]	2.6
																														diese [plural]	

Table 7: The acquisition of determiners by English-speaking adults: the fourth phase

L	Synt/Sem features: DET: +Def: P	+Def: o	+Def: s	+Def: s	+Def: -	- Def: +spec: +	- Def: +spec: -	- Def: -spec: +	- Def: -spec: -	Morphological Characterization: NUM: 1	GENDR: 1	CASE: 1	CASE: 1	CASE: 2	CASE: 3	Gen: 1	Gen: 2	Gen: 3	Per: 1	Per: 2	Per: 3
		+-	D	m	m		n	n	e	1	2	1	2	3	4	f	e	m	1	2	3
			e	e			+	-	g	0	2	0	2	3	4						
G (poss) 3	x									x	x		x			x			x		
		x								x	x	x									
G (-Dem) 3		x								x	x	x									
G (-Def) 3					x			x		x	x		x								
G (+Neg) 3	For (+Neg), see G1 (+Neg)																				
G (+Dem) 3		x								x		x		x							

Syntax: (x)V	Syntax: V(y): P	Syntax: V(y): r	Syntax: V(y): e	Syntax: N(z): P	Syntax: N(z): r	Syntax: N(z): e	Environment: N1	Environment: N2	Environment: N3	Environment: N4	——→ PHON/LEX	R: i
_N	_A	V_	p_	p_	N_	p_						
	d			A		A						
	j			d		d						
				j		j						
x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x			mein,meine,meiner [case3] [sing] // meine [plural]	3.1
x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x			die, der [singular] die [pl] or not poss.	3.2
x		x	x	x		x			x	x	ø or die, der [singular] die [plural]	3.3
x	x	x	x	x		x	x				ein,eine,einer,einem [sg] ø [plural]	3.4
											[see G1 (+Neg)]	-
x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x			dieser,diese,dieser[case3] dieses [sing] // diese, diesen [pl] or not poss.	3.5

Table 8: Examples

R_i	Occurrences	Syntax	(Source)
0.1	mein Eltern (I3) (R4); mein Arbeit (R6); mein Flugzeugkarte (R7); mein Job (R7); in sein Kleid (Loc) (R6); zu mein Freund (R7); mein Verwandten V_ (I7); mein Schwester _V (I9); von mein. Verwandten V(y)_ (I3); mit dein Vati V(y)_ (I7); in unser Vorlesung V Prep_ (J3); mein Urgroßvater V_ (J7); von unser Weg V Prep_ (J6);		
0.2	∅ Lehrer _V (J4); bei Grenze V Prep_ (J1); über Kulturschock V Prep_ (I4); in die Straßen Loc (K7); vor die Lehrer V Prep (J2);		
0.3	für Energie N Prep_ (K4); in Dunkel Loc (K2); mexikanische Essen V Adj_ (K2); für Essen V Prep (R7);		
0.4	nach Italien V Prep_ (J1); in Amerika V Prep_ (J1); in New York V Prep_ (J1);		
0.5	ein Arzt _V (J4); ein anderer kleiner Beispiel _V (I2); ein Feiertag _V (R1); No occurrence with a standard German feminine in subject position only: (das war) ein Geschichte ... (R4)		
0.6	Skilaufen _V (R9)		
0.7	Öl V_ (K5); für Prestige N Prep_ (K4); Hosen V_ (K5); mit Übungen V_ (K6); Schule V_ (I2); Gold V_ (K4); in KPD-Film V_ (J1)		
0.8	keine Niederlands V_ (I1); keine Deutsch V_ (I3); keine Reaktionär V_ (J1); keine Comparison V_ (I2); keine Problem V_ (I6);		
0.9	diese Mann _V (R4); in diese schönes Dorf V Prep Adj_ (R6); diese Rauch V_ (R6); in diese Gesellschaft Loc (K8); diese Sommer (temp) (I6); diese Eigentum V_ (J8)		
1.1	mit meine Eltern V Prep_ (K4); meine Arme V_ (R6); auf unsere Gepäcke V Prep_ Loc (R6);		

R_i	Occurrences	Syntax	(Source)
1.2	die Drehbuchverfasser _V (R1); die Regisseur _V (R1); die Gebäude _V (J4); die Unterschied _V (K4); die Weinanbau _V (K5);		
1.3	Only inferred; no occurrences.		
1.4	in Gefängnis V Prep_ (J8); in Akademiestraße V Prep_ (J8)		
1.5	ein Lehrerin V_ (I2); eine Plan V_ (I2); ein Fehler V_ (I2); von eine Heim N Prep_ (R4); mit ein Gewehr V Prep_ (R6)		
1.6	See 0.6		
1.7	See 0.7		
1.8	kein Markt V_ (I8); keine hang-ups V_ (I2); kein Angst V_ (J2); kein Konflikt V_ (J4); keine Freiheit V_ (J4)		
1.9	bei dieser Corps V_ (J1); diese Konzentration V_ (J2); bei dieser Zeit V Prep_ (I6)		
2.1	meine Universität _V (I3); meine Mutter _V (I3); mein Problem _V (I3); von seine Lage V_ (I9); meine Familie V_ (K3); mein Vater _V (K3); mit seine Familie V Prep_ (R7); für mein Freund V Prep_ (R9); meine Konzentration V_ (J2); mein Ego V_ (J9);		
2.2 and 2.3	nach die Schwarzwald V Prep_ (K3); in die Stadt V Prep (K5); in die Straßen Loc (K7); die meiste Prestige V Adj_ (K4); die Leute V_ (I); von die Arbeiter N Prep_ (I9); die holländische Wort V_Adj (I2); die nächste Zug V_Adj (I5); von die andere Studenten N Prep_Adj (I8);		
2.4	von einer Krankenschwester V Prep_ (R4);		
2.5	dieser Kino _V (R3); dieser Weg _V (R8); dieses Schwester (R1);		
2.6	Occurrences as in 1.2		

R_i	Occurrences	Syntax	(Sources)
3.1	in meiner Schule V Prep_ (K5); in unserer Wohnung V Prep_ (K8); aus meiner Heimatstadt V Prep_ (K3); mit meiner Zimmerkameradin V Prep_(I2); bei unserer Universität V Prep_(I6); bei ihrer (plur) Universität V Prep_(I4); in meiner Class V Prep_(I6);		
3.2	der Körper _V (R3); der Grund _V (R3); der Strand _V (K5); der Lebensstil _V (K5); der Trockner V_ (K2); der Boot V_ (J8);		
3.3	No occurrences of der + name (e.g. der Iran)		
3.4	in einem Kino V Prep_ (R3); in einem Monat V Prep_ (R8); in einem Kriegszustand V Prep_ (K9); in einem anderen Raum V Prep (K8); nach einem Freund V Prep_ (J4);		
3.5	von diesen Leuten N Prep_ (R2);		

1. This article is based on a lecture which I gave at the School of Modern Languages of the University of Bath in October 1980. My thanks are due to J. B. Smith for translating the German manuscript into English.
2. Since in the Institute as a whole there are far more American than British students, and since in the beginners' classes of the language courses in particular there are scarcely any students from Britain, these samples are from North American students. The question of whether and to what extent comparable British students would show different developments has not been systematically investigated by the Institute.
3. Heinz Vater, Das System der Artikelformen im gegenwärtigen Deutsch, second edition (Tübingen, 1979).
4. These data were collected by Mary Carroll for work on a thesis in which she investigated the development of syntax in second language acquisition. She reports on results of her investigation in 'Features of Sentence Structure Development in Second Language Learning' in Linguistische Berichte, 64 (1979), pp. 50—55, and in her thesis, 'Zweitsprachenerwerb: Ein zyklischer Lernprozeß. Untersuchung zur Entwicklung der Sprachproduktion' (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universität Heidelberg, 1980). I should like to thank her for placing the data at my disposal for the purposes of these investigations. I understand that Mary Carroll's work is to be published in English during 1983 in the series 'Werkstattheften Deutsch als Fremdsprache' by Peter Lang Verlag, Frankfurt.
5. From Carroll, 'Zweitsprachenerwerb', p. 9.
6. From Carroll, 'Zweitsprachenerwerb', p. 6. The quotation is translated from the original German.
7. A survey of different definitions of 'learnt'('gelernt') is to be found in: Jens Bahn, '"Erworben" oder "nicht erworben"', paper read at the Second Annual Congress of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1980).
8. Compare Carroll 'Sentence Structure Development', p. 55, and Carroll 'Zweitsprachenerwerb', pp. 107-17.
9. Wolfgang Klein, Variation in der Sprache (Kronberg, 1974).
10. This analysis is based on approximately 1,680 occurrences.

C3
C4

Privy Councillor Zet

The director of a large firm, Privy Councillor Zet, a portly sixty-year-old with a large, round face, broad shoulders and a commanding presence, a man who looked well in his black tail-coat and stiff top-shiner, not only had to scheme and toil at his desk; it also quite naturally devolved upon him at important events, both grave and gay, to deliver addresses, to mark the occasion with a few well-chosen words, as the newspapers were in the habit of putting it in their subsequent reports. Most frequently it fell to his lot to speak a few condolatory sentences at funerals, to lay next to the grave a large wreath with fluttering black streamers.

When the weather was really too inclement, when the heavens opened and rain poured into an open grave, and around the grave stood many men and women dressed in black with the rain drumming on many black umbrellas arched above them - so that they were at least protected from the worst of the wet and it was only into the grave that the rain fell unimpeded - when the weather really was too inclement, then, and he had made his little speech, Privy Councillor Zet, and had deposited his large wreath, and had once more stepped back into the circle of mourners, no one was more adroit than he when it came to seizing any opportunity that presented itself for entering the second and then the third rank of onlookers, inconspicuously, quite as if by chance, until he was the hindmost and last of all, and could no longer see anything but the black backs of those before him. Then he would turn on his heel, then he would walk with rapid unchecked strides

through the alleys between the clammy headstones, wending his way between white marble angels and yellow columns to the cemetery gateway, would climb into his carriage, arrange himself in the cushions,
and find it doubly warm and comfortable with a roof over his head when he called to mind that many black, wet umbrellas were still swaying over an open grave.

This facility in slipping away before the end of ceremonies - and they did not always have to be funerals, and it did not always have to be actually raining - became more and more of an art, and the immediate participants, the mourners and merrymakers, scarcely ever noticed his premature departure. It was noticed only by men in important public posts who, like him, were obliged to take part in many festivities and mournful assemblages - they noted it, with disapproval those who envied him his foxy skill, with delight at his craftiness, those who admired it.

But then came the day when once more many black umbrellas swayed above an open grave, and in the open grave and the coffin secured with nails lay Privy Councillor Zet, well past seventy now, and his face was still round, but no longer red as of old, and he lay in his coffin as we all shall one day. The rain fell, under the shoes of the mourners the sticky clay squelched, and cried out when a foot was raised, cried out ill-naturedly because it had to release the shoe from its grasp, and speeches were made, short ones and long ones, good ones and bad ones, and wreaths piled up over the grave, and the ceremony refused to come to an end, and when

there was a gust of wind the rain found its way into the faces in spite of the umbrellas.

One who had often seen the living Privy Councillor Zet escape with foxy slyness on such occasions, one who had liked the tall, heavily built man, put his hand clad in black leather before his mouth, and whispered smiling and with a strange twitching about the eyes to his neighbour, inclining his head towards the open grave: "He's got to stay till last today!"

Indeed, he was the last that day, Privy Councillor Zet, in spite of the copious rhetoric and the copious rain, but a good coffin is better than the best umbrella, and he is impervious to rain and rhetoric now.

C4

Of Pigs and Poetry

In 1872, the sky was still more blue in those days, my uncle said, and what are now old, wide-girthed trees, ample and scarred and gnarled, they bent in every wind, and then in the streets of our town you would often meet a small gentleman with a black goatee, and he was a former corporal in the French army, Rancourt by name. He had been taken prisoner in the war, at the Battle of Sedan, people said, and fate had brought him to the town by the Danube, and he had come to the conclusion that the town by the Danube was an agreeable town, and he'd stayed on even after the peace had been signed, and for a long time he continued to wear with his civilian coat the poppy-red trousers of a military man. He would gaily twirl a little, yellow, supple cane, and would stand next to the stone bridge and watch the anglers, and watch how they, not often, but even so from time to time, pulled a silvery fish from out of the water. And we children, said my uncle, it wasn't the fish we looked at, a roach or a bream; those we'd seen often enough - we looked furtively at the red trousers of Mr Rancourt, at the butterfly-yellow cane he flourished, and because these things, the flame-red trousers and the goatee and the restlessly moving stick, were all reflected in the water, we stared with greedy curiosity at the multi-coloured image, so that we did not have to eye the man himself too boldly. And the headmaster of the town high school, in which the French language was of course among the subjects taught, was of the opinion that the intractable foreign words would trip more lightly off the pupils' tongues if a genuine, indubitable,

real live Frenchman lent himself to the task - so this headmaster put it to Corporal Rancourt that he should take up a position as French master in his institution. The latter gladly accepted, never again returned to his native country, remained until the end of his life, and walked eagerly on his slightly bowed legs through the crooked streets of the town on the Danube, still twirling the butterfly-coloured little stick.

That was in the days, my uncle said, when life was still better, when there were still green meadows and an inn with its cellars built into the rock of the hillside where today the municipal pawnshop is, in the days when the brown beer was so thick and honey-sticky that whoever spilt some and got his sleeve into it had to sacrifice a piece of cloth in order to escape. My uncle laughed when he told us that, and also said that the moon, when it climbed up above the cathedral on June evenings, was as big as a waggon wheel, big enough to scare you, and, according to his estimation, at least twice as big as nowadays.

Then it was our turn to laugh, and we refused to believe him, and challenged him to accompany us outside the town that evening, when the moon was due to rise, and to wait with us until the yellow disc would work its way up from the steaming evening plain between hunched hills and chimney-pots, and then, faced with the punch-coloured luminary, looking it in the very eye, to repeat his words.

To return to this man Rancourt, my uncle persisted, the bandy-legged fellow had become one of us to such an extent that it was truly astonishing. He was soon drinking more

beer than any of the natives, and eating roast veal with potato salad in the ale-house, and doing justice to liver rissoles and semolina dumplings. He also learnt to speak German, but that took him a long time, and for years he murdered the language in the most ghastly fashion.

Now in those days there was a sucking-pig market every Wednesday in Poll Street. The farmers and farmers' wives came from round about and brought the squealing creatures in baskets. Most were pink, and had the loveliest downy coats, but some were black, and it's especially attractive when a piglet has a black patch in the shape of a heart in the region of its shoulders, while the rear part as far as half way down the tail is covered in gleaming yellowish-white down, and the end of the tail, jauntily and quite unexpectedly, curls round again as dark as a devil's. Anyone on the look-out for a bargain would grab an animal by one foot and lift it high in the air, so that it squealed out loud and jerked its plump round body to and fro, and at least fifteen would be lifted up and examined before one was bought, so that there was plenty of noise in Poll Street on market days. On these Wednesday mornings there was also a very special kind of smell in Poll Street, and in the neighbouring side-streets too, a good smell really, of sty and straw, and very healthy.

And in those days, my uncle continued, when there were as yet no tram-cars harshly clanging their way through the town, only farmers' sleighs jingling through Jamesgate on winter days, in those days you'd often meet boys and servant girls, perhaps even the father of the family himself, on

their way from the baker's with narrow boards on their shoulders. These boards had been darkened by the heat of the baker's oven, were criss-crossed with blackish grooves, and to them were nailed the roast piglets. These would be resting on their stomachs, their legs spread-eagled as if they were at play, and with their droll, narrow, crafty-looking heads pressed close to the wooden surface they sailed along on high, gleaming with fat. Do you see that sort of thing any more? my uncle muttered. But then he smiled and continued his tale: Well, of course Rancourt wanted to have his sucking pig as well, and so he came along to Poll Street, copied the other customers, lifted up one piglet after another by its leg, looked down laughing at the squealers and dropped them into their baskets again, where the creatures, continuing to protest, nestled into the straw next to their fellows, breathing heavily and agitatedly. He'd examined no more than seven or eight when he found one that was very much to his liking; he enquired, more with his hands than his lips, what the price was, paid, and clasping the animal tenderly in his arms, set off to the butcher's. It was so pink as it lay across his sleeves that he could not resist the temptation to stroke it, but that was his downfall. The piglet struggled furiously, he stumbled, fell, the animal was free, and with high-pitched cries it raced away, as fast as lightning, without looking back, its curly tail high in the air. Mr Rancourt took up the chase, fiery-eyed, bandy-legged, and the piglet had already rounded the next corner. The Frenchman swore, swore all the violent and abominable oaths of his

soldiering days, raced round the kerb-stone, was in the side-street, but the piglet was no longer to be seen. Was it not squeaking afar, tender, enticing and scornful? But sign of it there was none; only a servant girl was coming the other way. He wanted to ask her if she had met the deserter, but in those days, in 1872, he'd only been in the town for just over a year and could speak only a little German, and anyhow he was too agitated to formulate his question with precision, and so he yelled and flung his arms about, and with twirling, painting movements gesticulated his meaning where words failed him, and in his agitation he trumpeted something at the servant girl, and this is what it was: "Miss, 'ave you seen little tiny man, oy oy in front, dirrididdldee be'ind?"

There was in these words about the pink fugitive a beauty and power of description, a vividness that impressed itself upon the mind, but for all that the maid was a little slow to take his meaning, and by the time she did he had already found the piglet, which had taken refuge in the entrance hall of a house.

But the townspeople, heavens, how undemanding they were in those days, they continued for a long time to delight in the piglet-hunter's mastery of words! Oh, how he had described that ever restless and ridiculous curly tail, which was as pert, as jaunty and undaunted as a lark-song incarnate, and sang, yes sang, for anyone with wit enough to hear it, with breath-taking audacity and insolence the song of dirrididdldee! And oy oy squeaked the snout, the

pink proboscis, a deeper note than that of the flute-like tail, high-pitched and supple.

And, my uncle said, in years to come he kept up his habit of eating roast veal with potato salad and liver rissole soup, did Mr Rancourt, and sucking pig as well, and he learnt to speak German according to the rules, and was even given the title of professor.

But when he had got as far as this and had mastered the foreign language, as people so misleadingly say, he expressed himself in it as correctly and dispassionately as we all do, in tedious dry sentences without resonance and lustre, speaking smoothly and without hesitation, as water flows from the pipe, and never again did he succeed in composing such a beautiful poem as the piglet poem. Indeed, unless we are poets we can only succeed in such things as long as we are children, for like a child, sweetly babbling, the grown Frenchman was straying on staggering feet through the darkness of the trackless, magical jungle of language, and it is only in this twilight, rich in mysteries, that poetry can flourish.

My uncle had retreated into the corner of the room, into the black leather armchair that had been standing there for who knows how long. Twilight was already on its way, out there, where the old town lay with its many spires, where the river flowed, green and surging.

And, we said, you are convinced that the moon was larger and more yellow in those days? Come with us to the island in

the Danube this evening, this evening at eight it will be there, the yellow wanderer - take a look at it!

Ah, said my uncle, about the moon you may be right. But as for the beer . . .

(C3)
(C4)

Der Geheimrat Zet

Der Leiter eines großen Unternehmens, der Geheimrat Zet, ein behäbiger Sechziger mit großem runden Gesicht, stattlich und breitschultrig, ein Mann, zu dem der schwarze Schoßrock und der hohe, steife Hut gut paßten, hatte nicht nur zu planen und zu werken hinterm Schreibtisch, ihm oblag auch, wie sich das versteht, die Pflicht, bei feierlichen Anlässen, traurigen und heiteren, Ansprachen zu halten, das Wort zu ergreifen, wie die Zeitungen hernach in ihren Berichten zu schreiben pflegten. Am häufigsten traf es sich, daß er bei Beerdigungen ein paar teilnahmsvolle Sätze zu sprechen, einen großen Kranz mit schwarzen, wehenden Flügelschleifen am Grab niederzulegen hatte.

Wenn das Wetter gar zu schlecht war, wenn vom Himmel der Regen niederfiel in ein offenes Grab, und um das Grab standen viele schwarze Männer und Frauen und hatten viele schwarze Schirme aufgespannt, auf die der Regen trommelte – so waren sie immerhin vor der schlimmsten Nässe geschützt, nur in das Grab fiel der Regen ungehindert – wenn das Wetter dann also gar zu schlecht war, und er hatte seine kleine Rede gehalten, der Geheimrat Zet, und hatte seinen großen Kranz niedergelegt, und war wieder zurückgetreten in den Kreis der Trauergäste, so verstand er es vortrefflich, jede Gelegenheit wahrzunehmen, sich in die zweite und dritte Reihe der Zuschauer zu schieben, unmerklich, ganz wie zufällig, bis er der hinterste und allerletzte Mann war und nur

die große Georg Kreisler Kunst, Graz, 1977.

mehr schwarze Rücken vor sich sah. Dann wandte er sich, dann ging er mit raschen, freien Schritten durch die Gassen der fröstelnd nassen Grabsteine, dahin zwischen weißen Marmorengeln und gelben Säulen, zum Friedhofsausgang, stieg in seinen Wagen, setzte sich in den Polstern zurecht, und fand es doppelt warm und gemütlich mit seinem Dach über sich, wenn er sich erinnerte, daß noch immer viele schwarze, nasse Schirme über einem offenen Grab schwankten.

Diese Geschicklichkeit, vor Beendigung von Feierlichkeiten sich davon zu schleichen, und das brauchten nicht immer nur Beerdigungen zu sein, und es brauchte auch nicht immer gerade zu regnen, bildete er immer kunstvoller aus, und die am nächsten Beteiligten, die trauernden und die jubelnden, merkten fast nie seine frühe Flucht. Die merkten nur Männer in wichtigen, öffentlichen Stellungen, die, wie er auch, gezwungen waren, viele Freudenfeste und Trauerversammlungen mitzumachen – die merkten es, mit Mißbilligung manche, die neidisch waren auf diese seine füchsische Gabe, andere mit Freude über seine Schlauheit, die sie bewunderten.

Aber dann kam einmal der Tag, da schwankten wieder viele schwarze Schirme über einem offenen Grab, und im offenen Grab und vernagelten Sarg lag der Geheimrat Zet, weit über die Siebzig nun, und sein Gesicht war noch rund, aber nicht mehr rot wie ehedem, und er lag im Sarg, wie wir alle einmal im Sarg liegen werden. Der Regen fiel, unter den Schuhen der Trauergäste platschte der klebrige Lehm und schrie auf, wenn der Schuh sich hob, schrie boshaft auf, weil er den Schuh loslassen mußte, und Reden wurden gehalten, kurze und lange, gute und schlechte, und Kränze häuften sich über dem Grab, und die Feier nahm kein Ende, und wenn ein Windstoß ging,

fand der Regen trotz der Schirme seinen Weg in die Gesichter.

Einer, der oft den lebenden Geheimrat Zet hatte in solcher Stunde fuchsschlau entwischen sehen, einer, der den großen, schweren Mann gern gehabt hatte, legte die Hand im schwarzen Leder vor den Mund und flüsterte lächelnd und mit einem sonderbaren Zucken um die Augen seinem Nachbarn mit einem Kopfnicken auf das offene Grab hin zu: »Heut muß er aber bis zuletzt da bleiben!«

Wahrhaftig, heut blieb er bis zuletzt, der Geheimrat Zet, trotz der vielen Reden und des vielen Regens, aber ein guter Sarg ist besser als der beste Schirm, und Regen und Reden gleiten von ihm ab.

Das große Georg Britting Buch, Munich, 1977

C4

Das Ferkelgedicht

Im Jahre 1872, der Himmel war noch blauer damals, erzählte mein Onkel, und die Donau grüner als heut, und die jetzt dicke, alte Bäume sind, fett und narbig und knorrig, die bogen sich in jedem Wind, da begegnete man in den Straßen unserer Stadt oft einem kleinen, schwarzkinnbärtigen Herrn, und das war ein ehemaliger Unterfeldwebel des französischen Heeres, Rancourt mit Namen. Der war im Krieg gefangen genommen worden, in der Schlacht bei Sedan, so sprach man, und das Schicksal hatte ihn in die Donaustadt verschlagen, und er hatte gefunden, daß die Donaustadt eine schöne Stadt sei, und war geblieben auch nach Friedensschluß, und trug noch lange zu seinem bürgerlichen Rock die mohnroten Hosen des Soldaten. Ein gelbes, biegsames Stöckchen ließ er lustig kreisen, und stand an der steinernen Brücke und sah den Anglern zu, und sah zu, wie die selten, aber doch hin und wieder einmal, einen Silberfisch aus dem Wasser holten. Und wir Kinder, sagte mein Onkel, wir blickten nicht den Fisch an, ein Rotauge oder eine Brachse, die hatten wir oft gesehen, wir blickten verstohlen auf die roten Hosen des Herrn Rancourt, auf sein schmetterlinggelbes Wippstöckchen, und weil das alles, die flammenden Hosen und der Ziegenbart und das bewegliche Stäbchen im Wasser noch einmal sich darbot, so starrten wir voll heftiger Neugier auf die bunte Spiegelung, um den Mann selber nicht allzudreist mustern zu müssen. Und der Leiter der Bürgerschule der Stadt, in der man natürlich auch die

französische Sprache lehrte, war der Meinung, daß die fremden, schweren Worte leichter auf die Zungenspitzen der Schüler zu bringen seien, wenn ein echter, unzweifelhafter, lebendiger Franzose das versuche – dieser Bürgerschulleiter also stellte an den Herrn Unterfeldwebel Rancourt das Ansinnen, einen Lehrposten für Französisch an der Anstalt zu übernehmen. Der willigte gerne ein, kehrte nicht mehr in sein Vaterland zurück, blieb bis an sein Lebensende, und ging eifrig und auf ein wenig gebogenen Beinen durch die Krummgassen der Donaustadt, immer noch aber das schmetterlingsfarbene Stöckchen wippend.

Das war damals, erzählte mein Onkel, als es noch schöner war zu leben, und als dort noch grüne Wiesen waren und eine Felsenkellerwirtschaft, wo heute das städtische Pfandhaus steht, damals, als das braune Bier so dick und honigklebrig war, daß, wer mit dem Ärmel am Verschütteten hängenblieb, einen Stofflappen opfern mußte, um wieder loszukommen. Da lachte mein Onkel, als er das erzählte, und sagte auch, daß der Mond, wenn er an Juniabenden über dem Dom emporstieg, so groß gewesen sei wie ein Wagenrad, zum Fürchten groß, und seiner Schätzung nach mindestens doppelt so groß als heute.

Da lachten wieder wir, und glaubten es nicht, und forderten ihn auf, heute, am Abend, zur Stunde des Mondaufgangs, mit uns vor die Stadt zu gehen und mit uns zu warten, bis die gelbe Scheibe aus der dampfenden Abendebene zwischen Hügelrücken und roten Kaminen sich emporarbeiten würde, und dann im Angesicht des glühpunschfarbigen Lichtträgers, ja, Aug in Aug mit ihm, seine Rede zu wiederholen.

Um wieder auf diesen Rancourt zu kommen, sagte aber mein Onkel, so hatte der säbelbeinige Mensch sich so bei uns eingewöhnt, daß es wahrhaft zum Staunen war. Er

trank bald mehr Bier als irgendein Ortsansässiger und aß im Wirtshaus Kalbsbraten mit Kartoffelsalat und schwärmte für Leberknödel und Grießnockerln. Er lernte auch deutsch zu sprechen, aber er brauchte sehr lange dazu, und jahrelang radebrechte er es in der entsetzlichsten Weise.

Nun war damals jeden Mittwoch in der Wahlenstraße Spanferkelmarkt. Da kamen die Bauern und Bäuerinnen aus der Umgebung und brachten in Körben die quiekenden Tiere. Die waren meist rosafarben und wunderlieblich behaart, manche auch waren schwarz, und besonders schön ist es, wenn ein Ferkel um die Schultern herzförmig schwarz ist, während das Hinterteil bis zur Schwanzmitte gelbweißbeflaumt schimmert und die Schwanzspitze lustig und unerwartet wieder teufelsmäßig dunkel sich ringelt. Die Käufer packten das Tier bei einem Fuß und hoben es hoch, daß es laut aufschrie und den prallen, runden Leib hin und her warf, und mindestens fünfzehn hob man auf und beschaute sie, bis man sich zum Kauf von einem entschloß, so daß es an den Markttagen ziemlich laut herging in der Wahlenstraße. Es roch auch ganz besonders in der Straße und auch noch in den Nebenstraßen an diesen Mittwochvormittagen, gut eigentlich, so nach Stall und Stroh, und recht gesund.

Und damals, fuhr mein Onkel fort, als natürlich noch keine Straßenbahn durch die Stadt mit grellen Glocken läutete, nur Bauernschlitten an Wintertagen durchs Jakobstor klingelten, damals traf man oft Buben und Dienstmädchen, auch wohl den Hausvater selber, wie sie vom Bäcker kommend, schmale Bretter auf den Schultern trugen. Die waren von der Backofenhitze angeröstet, hatten schwärzliche Rillen davon, und auf die Bretter waren genagelt die gebratenen Ferkel. Sie lagen auf dem Bauch,

hatten wie spielend alle Viere von sich gestreckt, und den schmalen, listigen, lustigen Kopf dicht auf das Holz geduckt, schwebten sie hochgetragen strahlend dahin. Sieht man das heute noch? murrte mein Onkel. Aber dann lächelte er und erzählte weiter: Der Rancourt nun wollte natürlich auch einmal sein Spanferkel haben und fand sich also in der Wahlenstraße ein, ahmte die anderen Käufer nach, hob Ferkel nach Ferkel am Bein hoch, sah lachend auf die Quietschenden herab und ließ sie wieder in den Korb fallen, wo die Tiere, weiter schimpfend, sich ins Stroh zu den Kameraden schmiegten, tief und aufgeregt atmend. Schon das siebente oder achte gefiel ihm ausnehmend, er fragte, mehr mit Händen als mit Worten, nach dem Preis, zahlte und nahm das Tier zärtlich auf die Arme, um es zum Metzger zu tragen. Es lag so rosig auf seinen Ärmeln, daß er der Versuchung nicht widerstand, es zu streicheln, aber das bekam ihm schlecht. Das Ferkel zappelte wütend, er stolperte, fiel, das Tier war frei und hell rufend raste es davon, Ringelschwanz hoch, schnell wie der Blitz, ohne sich umzusehen. Der Herr Rancourt lief hinterdrein, feurigen Auges, säbelbeinig, und das Ferkel war schon um die nächste Ecke. Der Franzose fluchte, fluchte alle gewalttätigen und abscheulichen Flüche seiner Soldatenzeit, bog um den Prellstein, war in der Seitengasse, aber das Ferkel war nicht mehr zu sehen. Quiekte es nicht fern zärtlich und lockend und höhnisch? Aber zu erblicken war es nicht, nur ein Dienstmädchen kam ihm entgegen. Er wollte es fragen, ob es dem Ausreißer nicht begegnet wäre, aber damals, 1872, da war er erst knapp über ein Jahr in der Stadt und konnte nur wenig Deutsch, und er war auch zu aufgeregt, um sich die Frage sauber zurechtzulegen, und so schrie er zappelnd, mit drehenden, malenden, erklärenden Handbewegungen ergän-

zend, was ihm an Worten fehlte, so trompetete er aufgeregt der Dienstmagd etwas zu und das war so: »Fräulein, aben Sie nicht gesehen kleine Person, vorne oi, oi, hinten dirridididldi?«

Es steckte eine schöne und kräftige und sehr anschauliche und einprägsame Beschreibung des flüchtigen Rosatieres in den Worten, aber die Magd verstand sie trotzdem nicht gleich, begriff erst später den Sinn, aber da hatte er das Ferkel schon wieder gefunden, das sich in einen Hausflur geflüchtet hatte.

Aber die Stadt, Gott, wie anspruchslos war sie damals, sie freute sich noch lange über die Sprachkünste des Ferkeljägers! Oh, wie er das Ringelschwänzchen, das ewig bewegliche, geschildert hatte, das lustige, das keck und naseweis-mutig wie ein fleischerner Lerchentriller war, das sang, ja, sang, wers zu hören verstand, überwältigend dummdreist und unverfroren das Lied dirridididldi! Und oi, oi quiekte die Schnauze, der Rosarüssel, tiefer im Ton als die Schwänzchenflöte, die biegsame, helle.

Und, sagte mein Onkel, er hat später noch oft Kalbsbraten mit Kartoffelsalat und Leberknödelsuppe gegessen, der Herr Rancourt, und auch Spanferkel und lernte auch noch regelrichtig Deutsch und wurde sogar Professor.

Aber als er so weit war und die fremde Sprache, wie man so übertreibend sagt, beherrschte, drückte er sich in ihr so richtig und nüchtern aus, wie wir das alle tun, in langweiligen und trockenen Sätzen ohne Klang und Glanz, glatt und ohne Stockung redend, wie Wasser von der Röhre läuft, und nie wieder ist ihm ein so schönes Gedicht gelungen wie das Ferkelgedicht. Das gelingt auch uns allen nur, die wir keine Dichter sind, solange wir Kinder sind, denn wie ein Kind, süß lallend, irrte der erwachsene französische Mann damals taumelnd im Dunkel des mäch-

tigen, zauberischen Sprachurwalds, und nur im geheimnisreichen Dämmern ist dem Gedichte wohl.

Mein Onkel hatte sich in die Ecke des Zimmers zurückgezogen in den schwarzen Ledersessel, der dort stand, wer weiß, wie lange schon? Die Dämmerung wollte schon kommen, draußen, wo die alte Stadt lag mit den vielen Türmen, wo der Strom floß, der grüne, der rauschende.

Und, sagten wir, du glaubst, daß damals der Mond größer und gelber war? Geh heute abend mit uns auf die Donauinsel, heut abend um acht Uhr kommt er, der gelbe Wanderer, sieh ihn dir an!

Ja, sagte mein Onkel, der Mond, der vielleicht, aber das Bier?

Das große Georg Britting Buch, Munich, 1977

Sic Transit

(A Conversation on the Basel Road between Steinen and Brombach, at Night)

by Johann Peter Hebel

The Lad says to his Dad:

Near every time, Dad, when the castle walls
Of Rötteln glower at me like that I think
Maybe our house will one day fare the same.
Dunna they rear up grim as Death himself
I' th' Basel Dance of Death? The more you look,
The more your flesh creeps. Ay, but our house,
It perches like a chapel on the hill,
With windows all a-glitter, what a sight.
Come on, Dad, tell me, will it fare the same?
I sometimes think such things can never be.

The Dad says:

Nay, Lad, they't wrong. Of course such things can be.
There's nowt but starts off young and new, yet creeps
Towards old age, there's nowt but has an end,
And nowt stands still. Co'st hear the water rush,
Co'st see up in the sky star upon star?
They'dst think none of 'em budged, and yet I say
All things move on, all things come and go.
Ay, that's the way it is, and no mistake.
They't young yet; bless thee, I was once as well,
But now I'm changing; age, old age comes on,

And where I go, to Gresgen or to Wies,
Through field or wood, to Basel or back home,
It's all the same, the churchyard's where I go -
For all thi tears and grief! - And when like me
They't in thi prime I'll be no longer here,
And sheep and goats will graze upon mi grave.
And sure as death, our house will age and crumble;
The rain will leach and fret it every night,
The sun will bleach and brun it every day,
And in the wainscoting the beetle tick.
Rain will come through the roof, the wind will whistle
Through chinks. And when all this has come to pass,
Thine eyes will've shut and childer's childer come
To patch it up. At last the rot will get
Into the groundstones. Nowt will then avail,
And by two thousand all will be in ruins.
The village too will sink into its grave.
Where church and vicarage stand and manor-house,
The plough will go -

The Lad says:

Nay, that I can't believe!

The Dad says:

Ay, that's the way it'll be, and no mistake.
Now i'na Basel grand, a lovely place?
Some houses there would mek a church look small,
And churches, why, in many a country place
There are less houses. There's a sight of folk,

And pots of money, many a gentleman,
And many's the one I've known that's lain long since
Asleep i' th' cloister, back of Minster Square.
For all that, Lad, one day the hour will strike
When Basel too will go into the grave,
And only here and there stretch out a limb -
A truss, a gable, or a ruined tower
With elder rooting in it, beeches, firs,
And moss and bracken for the herons' nests -
The pity on 't! And if folk are as daft
As nowadays, then ghosts will walk as well -
The Lenten Lady that's just started up,
Or so they say, the idiot boy Poor Tom,
And all the rest. But why a't nudging me?

The Lad says:

Talk softer, Dad, until we've crossed the bridge
And got beyond the hill and wood as well!
Up there hunts Herne the Hunter, doesna know?
And look, down there among the bushes lay
In days gone by the Egg-Wife's mouldering corpse,
The story goes. Co'st hear our Fancy snort?

The Dad says:

They knowst he's got the hooze! They mun be soft!
Gee up Fancy, Toke! - Leave the dead to rest,
Such tomfool nonsense! - How far had I got?
Ay, that's it, Basel, how its day will come.

And if in future times a wayfarer
Goes by, a half-hour or an hour away,
He'll look across, if no mist spoils his view,
And say to his mate as trudges next to him:
"Look, that's where Basel stood! The saying goes
That spire was once St Peter's, sad though 'tis."

The Lad says:

Nay, Dad, a't joking? Such things conna be.

The Dad says:

Ay, that's the way it'll be, and no mistake,
And time will come when all the world will burn.
A watchman will go out when midnight strikes,
A stranger, who he is no man will know;
He'll glitter like a star and shout: "Awake!
Awake, the day is nigh!" – And then the sky
Will redden, and in every part will sound
The thunder, quiet first, then loud, like when
In ninety-six the Frenchmen's cannon roared
Like hell let loose. The ground will shake until
The church towers sway, the bells begin to peal
And on their own to call the folk to prayer,
And all men pray. And then the day will break;
Oh, help us God, the sun will be outshone,
The skies with lightning fill, the earth will blaze.
That's just the start; the tale's too long to tell.
At last the flames will catch, and burn and burn
Wherever land is – none to quench them – till
They die down on their own. Imagine that.

The Lad says:

Leave off now, Dad! And yet I conna think
What folk will do when all things burn and burn.

The Dad says:

Nay, Lad, there'll be no folk when all things burn.
They'll be - ay, where? Be true, and do what's right,
Give what they co'st, and keep thi conscience clear!
Co'st see the sky a-glitter with bright stars?
Each star is like a village, and folk say
That higher up a shining city is,
Beyond our view; if they a't straight and true
A star will tek thee; gladsome they wu't be.
They't find thi Dad, if God Almighty will,
And Gundi, rest her soul, thi Mam. Maybe
They't reach that city by the Milky Way,
And looking sidelong down, what sight wu't see?
The walls of Rötteln! Charred the Belchen's heights,
The Blauen's too, twain crumbling towers they'll stand,
And, 'twixt them, all to cinders will be brunt,
Above the ground and under. Parched will be
The Wiese's bed, and bare and black each thing,
And still as death so far's the eye can reach.
And seeing this, they't to thi way-mate say:
"Co'st see, that's where the Earth was, and that height
Was called the Belchen! Not that far away
Was Wislet; that's where I once lived, doest know,

Yoked oxen, carted wood to Basel, ploughed,
Worked watering meadows, making pinewood splints,
And passed my days until the end. And nowt
Would tice me back there." - Gee up, Fancy, Toke!

Translated by J. B. Smith

Winter 1982 - 83

DIE VERGÄNGLICHKEIT

(Gespräch auf der Straße nach Basel zwischen Steinen und Brombach, in der Nacht)

Der Bueb seit zum Ätti:

Fast allmol, Ätti, wenn mer's Röttler Schloß
so vor den Auge stoht, se denki dra,
öb's üsem Hus echt au e mol so goht.
Stoht's denn nit dört, so schuderig, wie der Tod
im Basler Totetanz? Es gruset eim,
wie länger as me's bschaut. Und üser Hus,
es sitzt jo wie ne Chilchli uffem Berg,
und d'Fenster glitzeren, es isch e Staat.
Schwetz, Ätti, goht's em echterst au no so?
I mein emol, es chönn schier gar nit si.

Der Ätti seit:

Du guete Burst, 's cha frili si, was meinsch?
's chunnt alles jung und neu, und alles schlicht
sim Alter zue, und alles nimmt en End,
und nüt stoht still. Hörsch nit, wie 's Wasser ruuscht,
und siehsch am Himmel obe Stern an Stern?
Me meint, vo alle rühr sie kein, und doch
ruckt alles witers, alles chunnt und goht.
Je, 's isch nit anderst, lueg mi a, wie d'witt.
De bisch no jung; Närsch, ich bi au so gsi,
jez würd's mer anderst, 's Alter, 's Alter chunnt,
und woni gang, go Gresgen oder Wies,
in Feld und Wald, go Basel oder heim,
's isch einerlei, i gang im Chilchhof zue –
briegg alder nit! – und bis de bisch wien ich,
e gstandene Ma, so bini nümme do,
und d'Schof und Geiße weide uf mim Grab.
Jo wegerli, und 's Hus wird alt und wüest;

(C5)

DIE VERGÄNGLICHKEIT

(Gespräch auf der Straße nach Basel zwischen Steinen und Brombach, in der Nacht)

Der Knabe sagt zum Vater:

Fast immer, Vater, wenn das Röttler Schloß
mir vor den Augen steht, so denk ich dran,
ob's unserm Haus wohl auch einmal so geht.
Steht es nicht dort so schaudrig wie der Tod
im Basler Totentanz? Es grauset mir,
je länger ich's beschau. Und unser Haus,
es sitzt ja wie ein Kirchlein auf dem Berg.
Die Fenster glitzern dran, es ist ein Staat!
Schwätz, Vater, geht es ihm wohl auch noch so?
Ich meine fast, es könnt' schier gar nicht sein.

Der Vater sagt:

Du guter Bursche! Freilich kann es sein!
's kommt alles jung und neu und schleicht
dem Alter zu, und alles nimmt ein End',
und nichts steht still. Hörst du, wie's Wasser rauscht,
siehst du am Himmel oben Stern an Stern?
Man meint, von allen rühr' sich keiner, doch
rückt alles weiter, alles kommt und geht.
So ist's und anders nicht! Je, sieh mich an!
Du, Närrlein, bist noch jung; ich war es auch;
ich ändre mich. Das Alter kommt, das Alter.
Und gehe ich nach Gresgen oder Wies,
durch Feld und Wald, nach Basel oder heim,
es bleibt sich gleich, ich geh dem Kirchhof zu.
Wein' oder nicht! – Und bist du erst wie ich
ein reifer Mann, so bin ich nicht mehr hier,
auf meinem Grabe weiden Schaf und Geiß.
Ja, wahrlich! Unser Haus wird alt und wüst;

Johann Peter Hebel, Alemannische Gedichte, trans. Richard Gang, ed. Wilhelm Zentner (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1977).

der Rege wäscht der's wüester alli Nacht,
und d'Sunne bleicht der's schwärzer alli Tag,
und im Vertäfer popperet der Wurm.
Es regnet no dur d'Bühne ab, es pfift
der Wind dur d'Chlimse. Drüber tuesch du au
no d'Auge zu; es chömme Chindeschind,
und pletze dra. Z'lezt fuults im Fundement,
und 's hilft nüt me. Und wemme nootno gar
zweitusig zehlt, isch alles zsemme gkeit.
Und 's Dörfli sinkt no selber in si Grab.
Wo d'Chilche stoht, wo 's Vogts und 's Here Hus,
goht mit der Zit der Pflueg –

Der Bueb seit:

Nei, was de seisch!

Der Ätti seit:

Je, 's isch nit anderst, lueg mi a, wie d' witt!
Isch Basel nit e schöni tolli Stadt?
's sin Hüser drinn, 's isch mengi Chilche nit
so groß, und Chilche, 's sin in mengem Dorf
nit so viel Hüser. 's isch e Volchspiel, 's wohnt
e Richtum drinn, und menge brave Her,
und menge, wonni gchennt ha, lit scho lang,
im Chrützgang hinterm Münsterplatz und schloft.
's isch eitue, Chind, es schlacht e mol e Stund,
goht Basel au ins Grab, und streckt no do
und dört e Glied zum Boden ús, e Joch,
en alte Turn, e Giebelwand; es wachst
do Holder druf, do Büechli, Tanne dört,
und Moos und Farn, und Reiger niste drinn –
's isch schad derfür! – und sin bis dörthi d'Lüt
so närsch wie jez, so göhn au Gspenster um,
d'Frau Faste, 's isch mer jez, sie fang scho a,

der Regen wäscht es wüster jede Nacht,
die Sonne bleicht es schwärzer jeden Tag,
und im Getäfel pocht und kriecht der Wurm.
Es regnet durch die Decke, und es pfeift
der Wind durch Ritzen. Drüber tust du auch
die Augen zu. Es kommen Enkel nach
und flicken dran. Dann fault das Fundament,
und nichts mehr hilft. Und wenn man nach und nach
zweitausend zählt, ist alles eingesackt.
Zuletzt versinkt das ganze Dorf ins Grab.
Wo Kirche, Schloß und Pfarrhaus heute stehn,
geht mit der Zeit der Pflug. –

Der Knabe:

Nein, was du sagst!

Der Vater:

So ist's und anders nicht! Je, sieh mich an!
Ist Basel nicht 'ne schöne, tolle Stadt
mit Häusern, manche Kirche sonst ist nicht
so groß, mit Kirchen, mehr als Häuser gar
in manchem Dorf? Ein Volksspiel ist's! Es wohnt
ein Reichtum drin und mancher brave Herr;
und mancher, den ich kannte, liegt schon lang
im Kreuzgang hinterm Münsterplatz und schläft.
Gleichviel, mein Kind, es schlägt dereinst die Stund',
da Basel auch ins Grab versinkt. Es streckt
noch Glieder aus dem Boden auf, ein Joch,
ein alter Turm, 'ne Giebelwand. Es wächst
Holunder drauf, da Buchen, Tannen dort
und Moos und Farn, und Reiher nisten drin. –
Wie schad'! Und sind noch alle Leut' wie heut
so närrisch, gehen auch Gespenster um,
Frau Faste, schon ist's mir, sie fange an,

me seit's emol, – der Lippi Läppeli,
und was weiß ich, wer meh? Was stoßisch mi?

Der Bueb seit:

Schwetz lisli, Ätti, bis mer über d'Bruck
do sin, und do an Berg und Wald verbei!
Dört obe jagt e wilde Jäger, weisch?
Und lueg, do niden in de Hürste seig
gwiß 's Eiermeidli glege, halber ful,
's isch Johr und Tag. Hörsch, wie der Laubi schnuuft?

Der Ätti seit:

Er het der Pfnüsel! Seig doch nit so närsch!
Hüst, Laubi, Merz! – und loß die Tote go,
's sin Nareposse! – Je, was hani gseit?
Vo Basel, aß es au e mol verfallt. –
Und goht in langer Zit e Wandersma
ne halbi Stund, e Stund wit dra verbei,
se luegt er dure, lit ke Nebel druf,
und seit sim Kamerad, wo mittem goht:
»Lueg, dört isch Basel gstande! Selle Turn
seig d'Peterschilche gsi, 's isch schad derfür!«

Der Bueb seit:

Nei, Ätti, isch's der Ernst? Es cha nit si!

Der Ätti seit:

Je, 's isch nit anderst, lueg mi a, wie d' witt,
und mit der Zit verbrennt die ganzi Welt.
Es goht e Wächter us um Mitternacht,
e fremde Ma, me weiß nit, wer er isch,
er funklet, wie ne Stern, und rüeft: »*Wacht auf!*
Wacht auf, es kommt der Tag!« – Drob rötet si

man sagt's einmal – der Lippi Läppeli;
was weiß ich, wer noch mehr. Was stößt du mich?

Der Knabe:

Sprich leise, Vater, bis wir an der Brück'
und auch an Berg und Wald vorüber sind!
Dort oben jagt der wilde Jäger doch,
und schau, da unten in den Büschen sei
gewiß die Eierfrau gelegen, halb verfault,
's ist Jahr und Tag. Hörst, wie der Laubi schnauft?

Der Vater:

Er hat den Schnupfen! Sei doch nicht so dumm!
Hüst, Laubi, Merz! – Und laß die Toten gehn!
Ach, Narrenpossen! – Je! Was sagte ich?
Von Basel, daß es auch einmal zerfällt.
Und wandert eine Stunde weit ein Mann
nach langen Zeiten dann daran vorbei
und schaut er hin und liegt kein Nebel drauf,
so sagt er zum Begleiter neben sich:
»Sieh, dort lag Basel einst, und jener Turm
war einst die Peterskirch'. 's ist schad' dafür!«

Der Knabe:

Wie, Vater, ist's dir ernst? Es kann nicht sein.

Der Vater:

So ist's und anders nicht! Je, sieh mich an!
Und mit der Zeit verbrennt die ganze Welt.
Es geht ein Wächter aus um Mitternacht;
ein fremder Mann, man weiß nicht, wer er ist.
Er funkelt wie ein Stern und ruft: »*Wacht auf,*
wacht auf, es kommt der Tag!« – Es rötet sich

der Himmel, und es dundert überal,
zerst heimlig, alsgmach lut, wie sellemol,
wo Anno Sechsenünzgi der Franzos
so uding gschosse het. Der Bode wankt,
aß d'Chilchtürn guge; d'Glocke schlagen a,
und lüte selber Bettzit wit und breit,
und alles bettet. Drüber chunnt der Tag;
oh, bhüetis Gott, me brucht ke Sunn derzue,
der Himmel stoht im Blitz, und d'Welt im Glast.
Druf gschieht no viel, i ha jez nit der Zit;
und endli zündet's a, und brennt und brennt,
wo Boden isch, und niemes löscht. Es glumst
zlezt selber ab. Wie meinsch, sieht's us derno?

Der Bueb seit:

O Ätti, sag mer nüt me! Zwor wie goht's
de Lüte denn, wenn alles brennt und brennt?

Der Ätti seit:

Närsch, d'Lüt sin nümme do, wenn's brennt, sie sin –
wo sin sie? Seig du frumm, und halt di wohl,
geb, wo de bisch, und bhalt di Gwisse rein!
Siehsch nit, wie d'Luft mit schöne Sterne prangt!
's isch jede Stern verglichlige ne Dorf,
und witer obe seig e schöni Stadt,
me sieht si nit vo do, und haltsch di guet,
se chunnsch in so ne Stern, und 's isch der wohl,
und findsch der Ätti dört, wenn's Gottswill isch,
und 's Chüngi selig, d'Mutter. Öbbe fahrsch
au d'Milchstroß uf in die verborgeni Stadt,
und wenn de sitwärts abe luegsch, was siehsch?
E Röttler Schloß! Der Belche stoht verchohlt,
der Blauen au, as wie zwee alti Türn,
und zwische drinn isch alles use brennt,
bis tief in Boden abe. D'Wiese het

der Himmel, und es donnert überall,
erst heimlich nur, dann laut wie jenes Mal,
als anno sechsundneunzig der Franzos'
so schrecklich schoß. Der Boden wankt,
die Kirchtürm' schaukeln, Glocken schlagen an
und läuten selber Betzeit weit und breit,
und alle beten. Drüber kommt der Tag.
Behüt' uns Gott! Man braucht die Sonne nicht:
der Himmel steht im Blitz, die Welt im Glast.
Noch viel geschieht; ich hab jetzt keine Zeit.
Und endlich zündet's an und brennt und brennt,
wo Boden ist, und niemand löscht. Es glimmt
von selber ab. Und dann? Wie sieht es aus?

Der Knabe:

O Vater, sag mir nichts mehr! Zwar wie geht's
den Leuten dann, wenn alles brennt und brennt?

Der Vater:

Du Närrlein! Leute gibt es nicht! Sie sind –
Wo sind sie? Sei du fromm und halt dich wohl,
gib, wo du bist, und halt dein G'wissen rein!
O schau doch, wie die Luft in Sternen prangt!
Und jeder ist vergleichbar einem Dorf,
und drüber liegt noch eine schöne Stadt.
Man sieht sie nicht von hier; hältst du dich gut,
kommst du auf einen Stern, und dir ist wohl.
Du findst mit Gottes Hilf' den Vater dort
und Gundi und die Mutter, fährst vielleicht
die Milchstraß' her in die verborgne Stadt.
Und wenn du seitwärts niederschaust, was siehst?
Das Röttler Schloß! Der Belchen steht verkohlt,
der Blauen auch, grad wie zwei alte Türm'.
Dazwischen ist dann alles ausgebrannt
bis in den Boden tief. Die Wiese führt

ke Wasser meh, 's isch alles öd und schwarz,
und totestill, so wit me luegt – das siehsch,
und seisch dim Kamerad, wo mitder goht:
»Lueg, dört isch *d'Erde* gsi, und selle Berg
het Belche gheiße! Nit gar wit dervo
isch Wisleth gsi; dört hani au scho glebt,
und Stiere gwettet, Holz go Basel gfüehrt,
und brochet, Matte graust, und Liechtspöh gmacht,
und gvätterlet, bis an mi selig End,
und möcht jez nümme hi.« – *Hüst, Laubi, Merz!*

DER JENNER

Im Ätti setzt der Öldampf zue.
Mer chönnte 's Ämpeli use tue,
und d'Läden uf. Der Morgeschi
blickt scho zuem runde Nastloch i. –
O lueget doch, wie chalt und rot
der Jenner uf de Berge stoht!

Er seit: »I bi ne *bliebte* Ma,
der Stern am Himmel lacht mi a!
Er glitzeret vor Lust und Freud,
und mueß er furt, sen isch's em leid;
er luegt mi a, und cha's nit lo,
und würd bizite wieder cho.

Und untermer in Berg und Tal,
wie flimmeret's nit überal!
An allen Ende Schnee und Schnee;
's isch alles mir zue Ehre gscheh,
und woni gang im wite Feld,
sin Stroße bahnt, und Brucke gstellt.«

Er seit: »I bin ne *frische* Ma,
i ha ne luftig Tschöpli a,

kein Wasser mehr. Sie ist nur öd und schwarz
und totenstill, soweit man schaut. Das siehst
du, sagst dann deinem Freund, der mit dir geht:
»Dort lag die Erde einst, und jener Berg
hieß damals Belchen. Nicht gar weit davon
lag Wislet. Sieh, dort habe ich gelebt,
hab Ochsen eingespannt und Holz geführt,
geackert und bewässert, Lichtspän' geschnitzt,
gespielt dazu bis an mein selig End'.
Ich möcht' jetzt nimmer hin.« – *Hüst, Laubi, Merz!*

DER JANUAR

Den Vater stört der Öldampf sehr;
die Lampe flackert mehr und mehr.
O löscht sie aus! Das Morgenlicht
schon durch das runde Astloch bricht.
Den Laden auf! O schaut, wie rot
der Januar vom Berge droht.

Er sagt: »Ich bin ein *lieber* Mann;
der Stern am Himmel lacht mich an.
Wie glitzert er vor Lust und Freud;
und muß er fort, so tut's ihm leid;
er schaut mir nach und mag nicht gehn,
er möchte bald ein Wiedersehn.

Und unter mir in Berg und Tal,
wie flimmert es nicht überall!
An allen Enden, die ich seh,
liegt mir zu Ehren Schnee und Schnee.
Auch ist, wohin ich geh durchs Feld,
gebahnt und eine Brück' gestellt.«

Er spricht: »Ich bin ein *frischer* Mann
und hab ein luftig Jäcklein an;